Daily Report

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U.S. Conducts Nuclear Test in Nevada 13 May

LD1405154188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] On Friday the United States carried out yet another nuclear test. The powerful charge, exploded at a depth of 500 meters, was as much as 150 kilotonnes. This is the third nuclear explosion that has been announced in the United States since January of this year. Since the nuclear testing ground was built in the Nevada desert 37 years ago, 678 explosions have been carried out at it.

At the present time, a group of Soviet scientists are at the testing ground preparing for joint experiments to work out methods of seismic verification [kontrol] of the force of underground explosions.

Warsaw Pact-NATO Meeting Views Disarmament

LD1605101988 Moscow TASS in English 0930 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Vienna May 16 TASS—A regular meeting was held here today as part of the consultations between representatives of the Warsaw Treaty member countries and NATO to work out a mandate of the future talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The sides attained progress in the work on several questions of the organisation and procedure of the talks.

Economic Advantages of INF Treaty Cited

LD1305103588 Moscow TASS in English 0921 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—The Treaty on the Elimination of the Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles is not only of great political but also economic significance, the weekly "NEW TIMES" writes in its latest issue. The total cost of not-to-be-destroyed parts of armaments intended for use in the national economy of the USSR, the repeal by the U.S. Congress of allocations for construction of new INF launchers in a number of West European countries, the decision to postpone the allocation of money for the earlier planned deployment of such missiles signify for both countries a save of hundreds of millions dollars.

And this is only the beginning. According to scientists, nuclear warheads can be changed over to fuel for atomic reactors. The treaty provides for elimination of a total of over 2,000 nuclear warheads containing such a quantity of the fissionable substance of uranium-235 and plutonium that could ensure the functioning of eight generating units each with a power of one million kilowatt. Nuclear fuel could well be used for reactors of nuclear-powered ice-breakers.

Destruction of nuclear warheads could also bring benefit, for instance, in the construction of oil and gas storages. The yield of oil deposits could be increased through such explosions. In the future it is planned to use the "demobilized" atom for establishing geothermal electric power stations relying on the heat of the bowels of the earth.

According to the estimates, the freezing of all arms programmes now being negotiated in Geneva, and the termination of further financing of the development, production and purchases of strategic offensive armaments would help the United States save about 150,000 million dollars within the next five years. This sum is somewhat less than the expected budget deficit in the current year—165,000 million dollars. The termination of relevant programmes would bring a big save also for the Soviet Union.

"The estimation of economic efficiency of these or other measures in reducing nuclear systems is by no means confined to calculations. No money can gauge the atmosphere of confidence in international relations which would help make up for many missed possibilities of economic cooperation", the "NEW TIMES" writes in conclusion.

Shevardnadze Concludes Visit to Berlin

Addresses Pact Meeting

LD1305163288 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Berlin May 13 TASS—The Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers held a meeting here today.

Eduard Shevardnadze informed his counterparts from the allied countries about the results of his Geneva talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz on May 11-12 and preparations for the summit between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

The ministers expressed full support for the policy of promoting Soviet-American dialogue and expressed the hope that specific agreements would be reached by the USSR and the United States in the interests of peace, international security and cooperation between nations.

The allied countries were represented by Bulgarian Foreign Minister Peter Mladenov, Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek and Romanian Ambassador to the GDR Gheorghe Caranfil.

The meeting was held in a business-like, comradely atmosphere.

The participants in the meeting were received by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the State Council of the GDR. The conversation passed in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship.

Seen Off by Fischer

LD1305164188 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1533 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 13 May (ADN)—After the Berlin meeting of the Warsaw Pact member states foreign ministers, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR Minister for foreign affairs, left for home this afternoon. He was cordially seen off at Berlin Schoenefeld Airport by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer.

Other foreign ministers will also be leaving today.

Received by Honecker

LD1305164288 Moscow TASS in English 1611 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Berlin May 13 TASS—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, received here today Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Foreign Minister of the USSR.

The Soviet foreign minister handed over to Honecker fraternal greetings from general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and on his instructions informed the GDR leader about preparations for the Soviet-American summit meeting, specifically the results of his talks in Geneva with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

Shevardnadze pointed out that progress and tangible results could be achieved on all questions to be discussed. There was a firm intention to halve the strategic offensive wespons of the USSR and the United States, as agreed in principle. Intensive work on a corresponding treaty was now under way.

The party and state leadership of the Soviet Union realised that the Moscow meeting was expected to produce results that would impart a fresh impetus to the process of disarmament and detente.

The Soviet Union was doing everything possible so that Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan could find answers to complicated questions concerning all of mankind and facilitate the improvement of the situation in the world on the whole by way of the constructive development of bilateral relations between the USSR and the United States.

Honecker expressed gratitude for Gorbachev's regards and, in turn, asked to convey cordial greetings to the Soviet leader.

His attitude to the information provided by Shevardnadze was that of satisfaction and approval.

The GDR wholly backed the Soviet stance, he said. The USSR had an unrestricted mandate also from the GDR, all its citizens for all steps that advanced the cause of peace and disarmament.

Honecker highly assessed the USSR's persistent efforts in the field of nuclear disarmament and asked the foreign minister to convey to Gorbachev wishes of best success at the talks with the U.S. President.

Honecker and Shevardnadze expressed satisfaction over the high level of bilateral relations between the USSR and the GDR. The GDR leader pointed out that friendship between the GDR and the USSR turned into a solid foundation that had been and remained a condition and guarantee of the successful construction of developed socialist society in the German Democratic Republic.

GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and Soviet Ambassador to the GDR Vyacheslav Kochemasov took part in the conversation.

Departs GDR for Home

LD1305175288 Moscow TASS in English
1645 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Berlin May 13 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze left Berlin today. He took part in a Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers' meeting.

He was seen off at the airport by the foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic, Oskar Fischer, and the Soviet ambassador to the GDR, Vyacheslav Kochemasov.

Returns to Moscow

LD1305210488 Moscow TASS in English
1808 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR, returned to Moscow from Berlin today. He attended the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

Work of Warsaw Pact Military Council Reported

LD1305165088 Moscow TASS in English
1611 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—It is reported that a regular meeting of the Military Council of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states was held in Sofia on May 11-13. It was attended by commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces, marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, the Military Council members, representatives of the Warsaw Treaty defense ministries and senior officials of the administration of the joint armed forces.

The Military Council, guided by the requirements stemming from the defensive character of the military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty member states, considered some questions of the state and further development of the joint armed forces and adopted coordinated recommendations.

The meeting passed in a businesslike atmosphere, in the spirit of friendship and mutual understanding.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Notes Pact Anniversary

LD1405073288 Moscow TASS in English
0600 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—The Warsaw Treaty Organisation has turned 33 years old today, the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA points out in the article headlined "Upholding Peace and Socialism." The time has shown that the pooling of the defence potential of the European socialist countries has made it possible to ensure their reliable defense from aggressive encroachments of the imperialist powers, thus objectively contributing to stabilising international relations, maintaining peace in Europe and all over the world.

The Warsaw Treaty member states have never unleashed a single military conflict, their policy has never caused tensions in a single part of the world, they strive for the attainment of the sole aim—using their joint power against the forces of war, the article says.

The striving of the Soviet Union and of the other countries of the socialist community for peace, detente and disarmament is seen from the fact that over the past 15 years alone nearly 30 multilateral and bilateral treaties and agreements on disarmament problems have been concluded on their initiative. The efforts of our countries in that important direction continue growing. The newspaper quotes in that connection a number of specific initiatives recently put forward by the Warsaw Treaty member countries.

At the same time the allied socialist states cannot but reckon with the fact that the reactionary imperialist circles have so far not renounced their stake on "nuclear deterrence" and the arms race, their striving for military superiority. Therefore they do everything necessary for the reliable defense of the gains of socialism. They view the existing military strategic party as the decisive factor of preventing war. While ensuring this parity, the fraternal countries do not strive for having armed forces and armaments in excess of their defense requirements.

The limits are known to be stipulated not by the Warsaw Treaty, but by the United States and its NATO allies, the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA stresses. And as long as the danger of war on the part of imperialism remains, the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states will further be a reliable guard of the peaceful labour effort of their peoples.

UN Urges U.S. To Observe Legal Commitments

LD1405171988 Moscow TASS in English 1154 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] New York May 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov:

The 42nd U.N. General Assembly session wound up its work yesterday by the approval of the resolution on the report of the Host Country Committee. The resolution contains an urgent call to the USA for observing its international legal commitments and acting in conformity with the ruling of the International Court. The ruling by the supreme judicial authority of the U.N. notes among other things that the USA should comply with the provisions of the U.N. Charter and appoint its representatives for participation in international arbitration with the aim of a settlement of the dispute between the U.N. and the USA. Only the representatives of the USA and Israel voted against the adoption of that draft resolution.

In their speeches at the session delegates of various countries have strongly condemned the actions of the USA, which are in conflict with their international commitments and urged Washington to heed the voice of the international community repeatedly reflected in the corresponding decisions of the U.N. General Assembly, which has for more than six months now attended to examining this conflict instigated by the Zionist circles of the USA. It is precisely under their pressure that the U.S. Congress adopted the bill later signed by the President into law, which has become the basis for the discriminatory and unlawful decision to close the mission of the PLO permanent observer to the U.N. Yet, as follows from the returns on voting on the draft resolution, they in Washington are turning a deaf ear to all the urgings by the international community and are trying to place their national laws above international law.

As the session was told by Zuhdi Labib al-Tarazi, the permanent observer of PLO to the U.N., if the host country insists on its stand, contrary to all the urgings of the international community and its own legal commitments, the question will inevitably arise whether the U.N. Headquarters in the USA is capable of fully and effectively carrying out its functions.

IAEA Director Visits Kiev Radiation Clinic

LD1305185888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 13 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A scientific conference on the medical aspects of the accident at Chernobyl AES ended in Kiev today.

[Correspondent V. Lyaskalo—identified by caption] Before the final sitting, the conference participants were given the opportunity to visit Chernobyl AES and a whole range of medical establishments in Kiev. Among those who have come to the Institute of Pediatrics, Midwifery, and Gynecology are scientists and medics from the United States, Great Britain, and Sweden. In the course of 2 years, around 10,000 mothers and children of various ages have been examined here, and as the manager of the institute said, no deviations connected with radiation have been registered in their state of health.

Representatives of the IAEA toured villages in the 30-km zone, visited Pripyat, and even tried some fresh cucumbers grown in hothouses there.

This is the All-Union Scientific Center for Radiation Medicine, the main buildings and clinic of which are located in a picturesque holiday suburb of Kiev. Those who were directly involved in clearing up the accident have to undergo an examination twice a year. Today they had a lengthy discussion with IAEA Director General Hans Blix. You have not only the Soviet people behind you, he said, but the peoples of the entire world, and it is our common concern now to ensure that such accidents never occur again anywhere.

[Begin Blix recording in English with superimposed Russian translation] This all-union conference is an important event, both for science and for mankind, because it will make it possible to overcome the radiation consequences more quickly and help those who suffered. I believe that now mankind has no choice: Nuclear energy has to develop, but it is our common task to make it safe. I am convinced that this is possible, and for this, exchange of information and openness in scientific and technical research are very important—the kind of openness and glasnost demonstrated to us here. [end recording]

'International Observers Roundtable'

LD1505184388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 15 May 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program presented by Nikolay Agayants, with Boris Vasiliyevich Andrianov, Moscow Radio foreign affairs commentator, and Yuriy Emmanuilovich Kornilov, TASS political observer]

[Text] [Agayants] Hello, comrades. In the kaleidoscope of phenomena and events over the past week—events of varying types and significance—I think that we should single out in this program the following key topics: restructuring in the USSR as reflected in the international news media, the continuing Soviet-U.S. dialogue, Afghanistan and the difficult path to resolving the conflict, and Middle East events.

But let us take them one by one. First, let me introduce those participating in today's roundtable: my colleague, Boris Vasiliyevich Andrianov, Moscow Radio's commentator on foreign affairs, and Yuriy Emmanuilovich Kornilov, TASS political observer.

The press, radio, and television, as well as statesmen and public figures in various countries, are continuing to pay close attention to the processes taking place in our country, to those profound transformations stemming from that precise yet capacious word: restructuring.

Naturally, there is enormous interest in the material published on the meeting at the CPSU Central Committee with news media, ideological institutions, and union leaders, as well as the speech there by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, published under the heading "Through Democratization to a New Image of Socialism." In their reports from Moscow, foreign correspondents have singled out the statement by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary that through restructuring, we want to restore the Leninist image of socialism and bring Soviet society to qualitatively new frontiers, that we must do a real job of revealing the humanist potential of socialism.

[Andrianov] The international reactions to our restructuring run to millions of pages in newspapers and magazines and thousands of kilometers of teletype, magnetic, and video tape. Needless to say, these materials are not all the same: To a large extent, they depend on the standpoint the relevant media organ expresses and what forces stand behind it. But all the same, if we single out from the numerous reactions that are reaching us the main, predominant theme, then we should say responsibly that the reforms being carried out in the USSR have been taken seriously by a very wide range of political forces in the West. The course toward restructuring in our country is seen by the majority of observers as deeply revolutionary in character and historic in significance. The democratic progressive public and all people of goodwill who sincerely wish us success in our endeavors are emphasizing that the processes taking place in the Soviet Union are convincing testimony to the peace-loving nature of the Soviets and to their dynamism; these processes are testimony that the success of restructuring is in the interests of all who today advocate an alleviation of international tension and favor cooperation and good-neighborliness.

[Kornilov] Many bourgeois political sicentists, economists, and historians are reaching similar conclusions, albeit at times with reservations. Well, one can quote as an example a statement by the U.S. expert Herbert Levin, an economics professor at Pennsylvania University and chairman of the board of directors of the well-known U.S. research corporation Planecon. Restructuring in the USSR, he said, is to the United States' advantage because the more rationally relations between our countries are conducted, the safer our nuclear world will be. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, in an interview with LIFE magazine, viewed restructuring in almost the same words.

[Andrianov] Also in the West are solid opponents of the renewal being undertaken in the USSR: people who are hostile to any chance of improving relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. But what is indicative is that, despite all the differences of nuance in the approaches to assessing this event, the main point has been correctly discerned in the West: that the new thinking that the CPSU and the Soviet state have taken as the foundation of their domestic and foreign policy is the response of a great socialist power to the challenge of the time, which demands a qualitatively new approach to the problems facing our country and the whole world on the eve of the third millenium.

[Agayants] The wider meaning of the word restructuring, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has noted, reflects not merely the problems demanding solution in our country; one could say that the entire modern world needs restructuring, or in other words, qualitative change and progressive development. People need to know where they stand. They need to understand the problems that concern everyone, and they need an awareness of how they are going to live in the future. Here, to my mind, we should emphasize once again that restructuring in the USSR is Leninism in action; it is the direct continuation of the cause and ideals of the Great October. That is how the revolutionary transformations in the USSR are being assessed in the countries of the socialist community and the international working class and communist movement.

In the socialist states, as Comrade Gromyko's visit to Romania has shown, it is being emphasized that the achievements of the Soviet Union serve the augmentation of the forces of socialism, peace, and social progress and the cause of renewal on a worldwide scale.

[Kornilov] Just as October 1917 laid the foundation for a radical change in the sociopolitical image of our planet, in the last years of the 20th century, the reforms currently being carried out in our country will indubitably have an enormous positive influence on the world situation, including the capitalist world, which is being shaken by crises and eaten up by various deep contradictions.

[Agayants] Today, when the stereotypes of the past are being destroyed, albeit with difficulty, this is perhaps especially important. There are voices, and supporting voices of all sorts, that are continuing their attack on the Soviet Union and on socialism. Our task is to deliver a well-argued and urgent rebuff to these sallies by ideological saboteurs who would like to go on casting a shadow on the light of day by disseminating lies and disinformation.

A number of Western propaganda centers who have for years acted as parasites on the real or imagined miscalculations, failures, and shortcomings of our socioeconomic life, have now had their trump cards knocked out of their hands by the process of extensive glasnost. They perform a giddy zigzag by which they more and more frequently try to exploit for their hit-and-run attacks on the Soviet Union the very superiorities of the socialist system and its undoubted capacity for self-improvement and self-renewal. But once again, the poisoned arrows shot from, as it were, the opposite shore, are missing their target.

[Andrianov] The idle astrologers who make wild guesses about the Kremlin's future can be sure that in the Soviet Union there are no obstacles to the renewal and democratization of society and the modernization of the country. In the USSR a new generation of people support the policy of restructuring and are resolutely making their presence felt, says the West German newspaper NEUE RUHR-ZEITUNG. Today the eyes of the whole world are on the Soviet people. Comrade Gorbachev asks: Will we cope? Will we remain steadfast? Will we respond worthily to the challenge thrown to socialism? We will see it through. Our steadfastness is not in doubt. Restructuring in the USSR continues. It is going forward, revealing the great advantages of socialism and demonstrating to millions of people its noble aims: progress, democracy, and peace.

Further proof of the successes of the new political thinking is provided by the events of the past week. I have in mind, above all, the 26th meeting in Geneva between USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Amrosiyevich Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. As you know, in a fortnight, on 29 May, a new Soviet-U.S. summit opens in Moscow. As that day draws nearer, the forthcoming meeting awakens increasing attention and interest in the world.

[Agayants] Naturally, various opinions are being expressed. Yet if we pick out from among the materials that are being published abroad the main and predominant strand, there is every reason to say that prominent political and public figures of the various countries and the mass news media are unanimous that the forthcoming Moscow-Washington dialogue at summit level will be the event of the year in foreign affairs: an event that will enrich both Soviet-U.S. relations and world politics as a whole, conceptually and practically.

[Kornilov] The range of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue is very wide. It is worth remembering that at the Shevardnadze-Shultz meeting in Geneva issues concerning the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-and Shorter-Range Missiles were finally settled. This has evoked positive reactions in Washington and throughout the world. The U.S. side has been given detailed data on the composition of the strategic forces of the Soviet Union, including information on our sea-based cruise missiles. The aim is to attain the highest possible mark in working out an agreement.

[Agayants] In discussing the prospects for the coming Moscow summit, many foreign press organs note that in the short time remaining before the meeting, the USSR and the United States are hardly likely to be able to complete the preparation of so complex a document as the treaty on reducing strategic offensive arms. Some of the comment on this point is pessimistic.

[Kornilov] Well, Nikolay Ivanovich, there is no reason whatsoever to be pessimistic. There is no reason at all why we should regard the forthcoming Moscow summit as any sort of concluding or final point, bringing movement to an end. It is not the end at all. It is a stage—and a very important stage—on the way to a new treaty. The forthcoming meeting will also undoubtedly give a powerful spur to establishing detente on such important problems of disarmament as stopping nuclear tests, banning chemical weapons, and reducing armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals. What is ultimately important and notable is not so much the specific outcome of this or that stage in the negotiations but, above all, the fact that the talks are in progress and a dialogue between our two countries is gathering pace. I include here the summit level dialgoue that began in Geneva, that has stood the test of Reykjavik, and that brought first success in Washington.

[Agayants] That means that our countries—even though gradually, even though more slowly than we would like—are nonetheless steadily moving from the era of confrontation to the epoch of dialogue, increasingly opening the way to trust and cooperation.

[Andrianov] Today the Soviet troops stationed in Afghanistan have begun their long-awaited return home. Our soldiers have left behind the days of severe trial in which they have strengthened their profound belief in the noble cause of helping people who are our friends. In going through the fire of battle, our soldiers have gained a stronger love for their country, for their parental home, and for the men and women to whom they are bound by friendship.

[Agayants] They learned what the hatred of enemies is.

[Andrianov] The Soviet troop withdrawal, which the French newspaper LE MONDE described as a symbol of the new Soviet diplomacy, is graphic evidence of the efforts by Moscow and Kabul to untie the Afghan knot for good, to observe precisely and fully the agreements that make up the Geneva package.

It is important to note that the withdrawal of Soviet troops is being carried out at a time when the policy of national reconciliation being pursued by the Afghan Government, having paved the way toward a nationwide

dialogue, has opened prospects for creating a coalition government of all forces in Afghan society, including those who are now opposing each other.

[Kornilov] Correct, Boris Vasilyevich! But I think that to say only this would mean not saying everything. The clearer we see the light at the end of the tunnel, the more obvious it is that certain Western circles that pay lip service to the elimination of this long, drawn out, painful regional conflict in Asia find the prospects of the conflict's settlement not at all to their liking. Just the other day, a foreign news agency, quoting diplomatic sources, announced that the United States is sending air and sea shipments to Pakistan with new consignments of Stinger and Milan missiles, and that a considerable number of these weapons are going to Afghanistan via the so-called liberated zones, with the aid of the Pakistanis.

[Andrianov] What does all this mean? It is clear that if such concentrated supplies of weapons are on the way, this is not being done for the sake of peace but in the name of continuing the war. After all, THE NEW YORK TIMES, for instance, frankly reported the other day that the U.S. Administration sent a message to the armed opposition leaders which in truth is an appeal to continue the war even after the Soviet troop withdrawal.

[Agayants] Yes, the extremists are being supported and encouraged. The terrorist groups connected with the Peshawar hard-liners are operating, trying to whip up tension and shedding the blood of completely innocent people. Some time ago, as is known, a truck loaded with dynamite blew up in the center of Kabul. Where did it come from? It has been established that it came from Pakistan, where the United States is urgently dispatching weapons and ammunition. Seventeen missiles have just been fired on densely populated districts of the Afghan capital. Children, women, and old men died as a result of the explosions. Who fired those missiles? The very same hard-liners, relying on assistance from the outside and equipped with weapons marked: Made in the USA.

[Kornilov] The adventurism of the so-called hard-liners is an obvious obstacle to the restoration of peace in Afghanistan and to the normalization of the situation around this country. After all, no other than the Government of Pakistan put its signature on an obligation not to permit on Pakistani territory the presence or sheltering of groups having the aim of waging subversive activities against the Government of Afghanistan. Does it not say plainly and precisely in one of the Geneva documents tht the sides undertake strictly to refrain from interference and intervention of any form in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan and of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan?

[Andrianov] I want to add to this that President Reagan, speaking in Washington on 11 May, used the expression: the lessons of Afghanistan.

[Kornilov] That is just it! This term, by the way, in itself is legitimate. The Afghan problem has indeed a lot to teach us. Within the context of our conversation, I would note three important conclusions, at least three important conclusions, which this regional conflict suggests:

Conclusion one: The reliance on force that has been practiced from the very start by the U.S. Administration—undeclared wars the export of counterrevolution. Nothing can force to its knees free people who have firmly decided to exercise their right to determine their own political destiny.

Conclusion two: The path to a genuine settlement, a just resolution of the internal aspects of a conflict, passes through a policy of national reconciliation.

Finally, conclusion three, the last but not the least important regarding the external aspects of the conflict: They can be settled, provided there is a real political will and provided the problem is approached constructively and realistically by all sides involved in it.

[Agayants] Such conclusions are being drawn from the Afghan conflict in the overwhelming majority of the world's capitals. But, it turns out, altogether different lessons are being drawn from the very same facts by the U.S. Administration.

[Andrianov] Today it is appropriate to emphasize once again quite definitely that any departure from the Geneva accords can only harm the cause of the Afghan settlement. It will leave a stigma on the moral authority of the states that breach the obligations they have undertaken before the entire world. If one is to take the question more widely, one would have to say the following: According to Washington's classification, regional conflicts are called wars of low intensity. However, during the past decade, almost 17 million people have perished in these wars, and the number of victims continues to grow. The signing of the Geneva agreements is graphic evidence that one can and must extinguish the flame of the regional conflicts.

[Kornilov] To that end, let us repeat this once again: It is necessary to refrain from attempts to export counterrevolution; we must grant each country and each group of people the right to decide their own destiny. If Washington were to do this, it would mean that it had learned a lesson from the Afghan conflict not in theory but in actual fact. As Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze emphasized at his news conference in Geneva the other day, the main task now is the complete and flawless fulfillment of all the obligations undertaken by Pakistan and Afghanistan, and by the Soviet Union and the United States of America, who acted as guarantors of the settlement of the Afghan conflict.

[Agayants] Early this week, it was already 5 months since the start of the uprising by Palestinians in the Arab lands occupied by Israel in June 1967, and it is still continuing.

It is quite evident that Tel Aviv's calculations of quickly putting an end to the mass action by the deprived people have not been achieved, although the brutal methods the Israeli invaders employ are well known.

[Andrianov] Just 3 days ago, for instance, Israeli Prime Minister Shamir made a so-called inspection trip to the town of Al-Khalil, on the West Bank. There he reaffirmed Tel Aviv's intention to pursue an iron fist policy to break the Palestinian population, to bring them to their knees, and to drown in blood the Arabs' popular uprising. On the eve of this statement, Israeli Defense Minister Rabin admitted that 9,400 Palestinians had been thrown in prison and concentration camps since the start of the uprising.

[Kornilov] Well, Boris Vasilyevich, that was only half an admission, because according to the uprising leadership's date, the number of arrested Palestinian patriots is twice Rabin's figure. We should also mention some other figures: More than 340 Palestinians have already died at the hands of the punitive forces; 39 were children. About 9,000 Arabs have been wounded, including 850 children. However, the blood of these victims has not extinguished the flames of the uprising.

[Agayants] What is the reason for the stubbornness of those involved in the uprising? One can hardly give just a single answer to that question, but it is indisputable that a determining factor has been the Palestinians' increased political awareness. This is seen in the fact that they are not taking action against some individual acts by the occupying regime, as has repeatedly occurred previously. Now they have risen up under the unified slogan: No to occupation! Yes to national independence! This is the essence of the will being expressed by these uprising people.

[Andrianov] I would note a further important circumstance. In expressing the will of all the people, the uprising leaders are acting under the PLO's aegis and are thereby blocking the attempts by the Israelis to split the Palestinian ranks. Incidentally, Tel Aviv's Zionist rulers have been pertinaciously seeking to do this. It is also necessary, of course, to emphasize that the uprising itself has become a catalyst promoting a rapprochement between those forces in the Arab world opposed to attempts to achieve a separate and partial settlement in the Middle East.

[Kornilov] The upsurge in the Palestinian popular movement has now become a key impulse in the quest for practical solutions toward a comprehensive settlement. The potential of such a mass upsurge lies, I believe, in the fact that it is deeply democratic in character and has not strayed into extremism, despite provocative and brutal reprisals by the occupiers. The movement is thereby gaining more and more international support and sympathy in the most diverse international circles.

[Andrianov] The other day I happened to see an interview with the Algerian paper EL MOUDJAHID by George Habash, secretary general of the PFLP [Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine]. These were his words: The UN Security Council, Habash noted, has adopted a number of decisions that we can regard as achievements for the Palestinian cause. After all, terms such as the Palestinian territories, and not simply the Arab territories, figure for the first time in Resolutions 605, 607, and 608, which have been adopted during the uprising. It is thus becoming possible, in Habash's view, for a special UN General Assembly session to be convened for the purpose of adopting a resolution setting out the Palestinians' rights, including their right to return to their homeland, their right to self-determination, and their right to set up an independent Palestinian state. Just such a resolution should serve as the basis for work by an international Middle East conference, Habash thinks. He emphasized that prior to the uprising, the Palestinian question was not being discussed from this point of view, either by the public or by international organizations.

[Agayants] The statements by this Palestinian leader are of undoubted interest, above all, in my opinion, because they concern some international aspects of the initial results of the uprising. These graphically show that the Palestinian people are not alone in the struggle for their just cause. They enjoy extensive international support. Incidentally, this is the guarantee that the central issue for the Palestinian people—that of self-determination—will be resolved. Just as recognition of the State of Israel and consideration for its security interests are essential, so too is a sttlement of this issue essential to establishing peace and good-neighborliness in the region based on the principles of international law.

[Andrianov] Judging by all the signs, Tel Aviv by no means intends to solve that problem. To all intents and purposes, it denies the vital interests of the other participants in the conflict, while it presents the peace process in the form of a series of direct and unconnected negotiations, at which Israel intends to perform the role of the side dictating the peace terms, that is to say, to talk with the Arabs only from a position of strength, as a victor talking to the vanquished. Surely it is impossible under such conditions to achieve a durable and just peace in the region if each other's mutual interests are not recognized.

[Kornilov] It is precisely a matter of each other's mutual interests. After all, peace in the Near East is needed just as much by Israel as it is by the Arabs. Yesterday, incidentally, Israel marked its 40th anniversary and marked it, moreover, in a fairly tense situation, since the Palestinian uprising has highlighted the internal contradictions in Israeli society. These contradictions have primarily resulted in a Near East conflict which is insoluble. Even the ruling circles of Israel and Tel Aviv

are gradually beginning to realize that occupation of Arab lands is not strengthening but, on the contrary, undermining Israel's security, turning it into a kind of time bomb.

[Andrianov] Life itself tells us what a solution to the Near East problem should be based on: It is by no means banking on armed force, but rather banking on negotiations. It is by no means trying to impose your will at these negotiations, but rather a readiness to engage in equal and businesslike dealings. Such a setup stems from the real state of affairs. A just and comprehensive settlement may be achieved provided everyone's interests—those of the Arabs, including the Palestinians, and also Israel—are taken into account.

[Kornilov] A key prerequisite for a settlement is the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territories that they occupied in 1967, namely, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and also the Syrian Golan Heights. It should be unconditionally acknowledged that the Palestinian people are entitled to self-determination to the same extent as the people of Israel have been granted that entitlement. How the Palestinians will use that entitlement is a matter for them alone.

[Andrianov] That is the principled position of the Soviet Union, which is ready to interact constructively with all those taking part in the peace process. Our country believes that the most effective mechanism for a settlement is an international conference under UN auspices. The participants in such a conference should be the representatives of all the sides involved in the conflict, including the Arab people of Palestine, as well the permanent members of the UN Security Council. A conference presupposes the most varied forms of interaction between the participants. The Soviet Union is not against intermediate measures and stages on the way to a comprehensive settlement. However, they should be considered and implemented within the framework of a conference and be linked with the end goals of a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

[Agayants] More favorable prerequisites are now taking shape for a settlement of the Near East crisis. This is shown by contemporary world developments. In a setting where the prospects are being mapped out for freeing mankind of the nuclear threat, the preservation on our globe of hotspots and bleeding wounds, which can be cured more easily, appears more and more intolerable. In order, however, to more easily solve problems, including regional ones, it is essential to achieve an ever deeper penetration of the new thinking into the awareness of the peace-loving public and into political life in every continent. That is the guarantee that a new political situation worthy of our day and age on the threshold of the next century will be created in the world.

The time allotted for our program has come to an end. To those taking part in the program, esteemed listeners, thank you for your attention. We take our leave of you. All the best!

United States & Canada

U.S. Reportedly Agreed to Abu Jihad Killing

PM1605102788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Neznamov dispatch: "Abu Jihad's Assassination—An Action by Israel and the United States"]

[Text] Algiers—New and incontrovertible facts testifying to direct involvement by Israel in the assassination of Abu Jihad (Khalil al-Wazir), one of the PLO's main leaders, have come before the Tunisian Government commission set up by a decision by the country's President Ben Ali to investigate this act of terrorism.

The Tunisian news agency TAP reported in particular that two of the three members of the terrorist group who took part in preparations for the operation to kill the Palestinian leader had traveled to Tunis in advance, using Lebanese passports confiscated by the Israeli authorities from their owners, Lebanese citizens, under different circumstances. These documents were used by the group in the Tunisian capital to hire the two minibuses and a car used by the Israeli commandos who landed on the Tunisian coast to get to Abu Jihad's residence on the night of 16 April.

One of the passports belonged to Lebanese ship mechanic N.R. Gorakh [name as published]. In the summer of 1984 his ship was captured by Israeli military patrol boats in Cypriot territorial waters and towed, together with its crew, to Haifa. Having been deprived of all his documents there, N.R. Gorakh was later sent back to Lebanon where he obtained a new passport.

During an Israeli Army raid on the Lebanese village of Tyre in February 1985, the Israeli special services confiscated another passport from its resident Kh. Katima, and this passport was used 3 years later by one of the Israeli terrorists in a Tunisian car hire firm. As for Katima, he obtained a new passport in December 1985.

Since Abu Jihad's assassination, which is described by all Arab observers as the latest demonstration of Israel's policy of state terrorism, mass media in Tunisia and neighboring countries have been publishing fresh facts every day which throw light on this crime. Even observers noted for their restraint and caution in passing judgment have virtually no doubts that the latest terrorist acts by Israel were carried out with the agreement of the U.S. Administration, which has recently reaffirmed—by no means accidentally—the strategic nature of its relations with the Tel Aviv authorities.

The Israeli cabinet, as the Algerian news agency APS notes in a commentary, would never have decided to carry out the actions had it not obtained the U.S. side's advance agreement. Moreover, in the opinion of APS, the issue concerns not only agreement for this operation but also support for it in both material and political terms.

Further Reportage on Shultz, Shevardnadze Talks

Talks End in Geneva

LD1305153088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 13 May 88

["On the results of the meeting of Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 13 May (TASS)—The TASS diplomatic correspondent writes:

The productive dialogue of the past few years between the USSR and the United States, which began in November 1985 in Geneva, continues—this is the main result of the talks between Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz which ended in Geneva on Thursday.

The situation on the eve of the talks had been complicated by the emergence of a number of problems connected with the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles; this was due to the mutual distrust which had reigned in Soviet-U.S. relations for many years. However, to the honor of the two sides, they did not dramatize the situation but discussed the problems which had arisen in a businesslike way, proceeding from the fact that it is quite natural for problems to appear. No single treaty can envisage all possible variations and situations. The USSR and the United States signed an agreement in Geneva on the applicability of the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles to intermediate- and shorter-range missiles capable of carrying weapons based both on existing and new physical principles ("exotic weapons").

The progress in drawing up an agreement on reducing strategic nuclear armaments while observing the ABM Treaty became the main subject of the talks. The ministers started with the fact that it is necessary to reach the highest possible targets [otmetki] in drawing up this agreement, to record them at the summit meeting, and to continue intensive work in this area. Progress of the Vienna talks was also not left undiscussed: The sides agreed that all the necessary prerequisites exist for concluding them with important political accords. Progress was also achieved on monitoring [kontrol] nuclear explosions, subsequently limiting them, and finally ceasing testing.

Discussion of the most pressing regional problems continued. Despite the enduring differences in views, the talks were mainly within the context of the search for possible ways of settlement which would satisfy the

interests of all parties to such conflicts. As before, questions connected with human rights and cooperation in the humanitarian sphere also became the object of discussion.

The successful completion of the talks in Geneva on the eve of the summit meeting in Moscow builds confidence that the Moscow meeting of leaders of the USSR and the United States will be a major event both in Soviet-U.S. relations and in world politics as a whole.

Shultz Briefs NATO

LD1305142088 Moscow TASS in English 1351 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Brussels May 13 TASS—The NATO Council held a sitting at the headquarters of the North Atlantic bloc here today, which was attended by the foreign ministers of most of its members.

They came to Brussels to hear U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz on the results of his two-day talks in Geneva with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and exchange opinions on the pressing problems of East-West relations in general and Soviet-American relations in particular.

Following the sitting Shultz held a brief news conference. He stressed that the talks had cleared up the questions that had arisen over how to read a number of verification provisions in the INF Treaty.

The secretary of state described as quite satisfactory the answers the Americans had been given in Geneva by Soviet representatives.

The talks, he added, had helped remove the Soviet side's doubts as well.

Shultz said that since the mutual concerns had been addressed, the road had now been paved for U.S. Congress to complete the process of ratifying the treaty.

He went on to say he believed all the snags in the way of the treaty's endorsement by the Senate had been taken away and the path to ratification was clear. The sooner the senators fulfilled their duty, the better, Shultz said.

The U.S. allies in NATO at the consultations here today, according to Shultz, expressed themselves for the treaty to be ratified before the forthcoming moscow summit between President Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Speaking of prospects for opening talks for reducing conventional arms, the U.S. secretary of state said it had been pleasant to discuss those issues with the Soviet delegation and that he had heard many interesting ideas in his talks with Shevardnadze and other Soviet officials. Shultz said he hoped that the interested and businesslike approach of both sides to the conventional arms problem improved prospects for early talks on the issue markedly.

Answering a question about ways of achieving a political settlement of the Cyprus issue, he pointed to ever growing support for a proposal for the U.N. secretary-general to make related mediatory efforts.

Meetings between the prime ministers of Greece and Turkey could play an important role in bringing closer the positions of the two countries, Shultz added. The United States, for its part, would, he said, give relevant help as well.

The U.S. secretary of state announced that he would make yet another trip to the Middle East soon to discuss ways to reach a peace settlement there. The Middle East problem was a source of concern everywhere, including the Soviet Union, he said, explaining that that was his impression from his talks with the Soviet foreign minister.

Moscow Sees 'Healthier Atmosphere'

LD1305172888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 13 May 88

[Igor Charikov Commentary]

[Text] The foreign press comments extensively on the results of the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Geneva at the foreign minister level. The WASHINGTON POST, for example, says the meeting cleared the way for ratification by the U.S. Senate of the historic Treaty to Eliminate Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

At our microphone is my colleague, Igor Charikov:

In the year of their 55th anniversary, Soviet-U.S. relations are now going through an important and crucial period—a period which can certainly be described as very constructive. After the protracted tension in relations between the two great powers, ties and contacts are beginning to be established in virtually all areas. Contacts between the publics of the two countries have been considerably expanded; this is helping to create a healthier atmosphere, and we feel this. Contacts between scientists and cultural figures have become more intensive, and breakthroughs are beginning to appear in trade and economic relations, to say nothing of the political sphere.

The forthcoming summit meeting in Moscow will be the fourth in the last 3 years, and the world public expects that it will be an important constructive stage in Soviet-U.S. relations. In that time, the heads of the foreign political departments of the two countries have held 26 meetings, each of which has been packed with discussion of bilateral problems and aspects of the international situation. In that respect, the last meeting between Comrade Shevardnadze and Secretary of State Shultz—

before President Reagan comes to the Soviet Union—has been no exception. Moreover, as the WASHINGTON POST has noted, it has helped to remove the last obstacles on the path of ratifying the intermediate- and shorter-range missile treaty by the U.S. Senate.

In his statement in Geneva, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze said that for a long time to come, we shall continue to pay tribute to mutual distrust. He was referring to a number of problems that have arisen in connection with the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Those problems were not fundamental, because it is the actual text of the treaty that should be regarded as the criterion of its durability. All the other matters—including those concerning the monitoring [kontrol] of its observance, cannot place an obstacle on the path of the coming into force of this vitally important document, which for the first time in history envisages the destruction of arms, and not just their limitation.

Comrade Shevardnadze has said that the misunderstandings which had arisen have been cleared away. And the positive side of what has taken place should be seen in the fact that the viability of the treaty and its ability to provide answers in all situations of difficulty have been confirmed.

TASS's Shishkin Interviewed on U.S. Visit

LD1305172188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0945 GMT 13 May 88

[Interview with Gennadiy Arkadiyevich Shishkin, first deputy director general of TASS, by All-Union Radio foreign political commentator Sergey Pravdin, in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Pravdin] Last month, a delegation from the leading Soviet media, led by Falin, chairman of the APN board, visited Washington at the invitation of the U.S. Information Agency, USIA. Our guest today is Gennadiy Arkadiyevich Shishkin, first deputy general director of TASS, who was a member of the delegation.

My first question to you is: What was the aim of the trip, and whom did you meet in the U.S. capital?

[Shishkin] Charles Wick, the director of USIA, initiated the meeting. On the eve of the fourth Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow, Wick justified organizing a meeting between representatives of the mass media of both countries by the need to supplement the development of political relations with contacts between the mass media. The U.S. side did not conceal here that it has certain objections to the Soviet mass media. Furthermore, literally on the eve of the meeting in Washington, a tendentious report was published, which had been drawn up by USIA for congress, entitled "Soviet Active Measures in the Era of Glasnost". The authors of the report strived to prove that after the Geneva meeting the Soviet mass media worked out special tactics which they used, under the guise of glasnost, to start knocking together a united front in the West aimed at subverting U.S. positions at the arms control talks. The Soviets have also showed initiative—the report says—in organizing new international peace forums and groups, made up chiefly of representatives of various professions, scientists, prominent public figures, and representatives of business circles, in an attempt to open up a new channel of influence over the Western elite. In all areas, the current Soviet tactics rest upon creating a more open image, and upon an effort to make use of positive conceptions in the West about the processes of glasnost and restructuring, to the Soviets' advantage.

In a clear attempt to discredit our policy of glasnost and restructuring in the eyes of Americans, the authors of the report accused Soviet journalists of deliberately engaging in disinformation in their reports on the United States. They cited as an example reports which have emerged at various times in our country about the FBI's involvement in the killing of Martin Luther King, the CIA's involvement in the killing of Swedish Prime Minister Palme and of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the creation of an AIDS virus at the U.S. military base of Fort Detrick, and so on. At the same time, of course, the report ignored the not unimportant fact that all such reports appeared on the pages of the Soviet press or were broadcast on the radio from foreign sources, including U.S. sources.

I am far from suggesting, of course, that there are no shortcomings at all in the way we cover U.S. life. A certain distortion in the work of international affairs journalists is obvious. We have written a great deal, and in a well-informed manner, about U.S. shortcomings, about the defects in the U.S. way of life, and about the evils of capitalism, while closing our eyes to the fact that alongside all this, the United States is one of the most well-off countries in the world, that it has attained great heights in the economy, science, and culture, and in a number of areas has already progressed into the 21st century.

But at the same time, if one compares what Americans know about our country, and what Soviet people know about the United States, any objective observer would be compelled to admit that the average American either knows practically nothing about our country, or has the most absurd notions about it. Even the West German SPIEGEL magazine once indignantly commented that where the Soviet Union is concerned, it is cliches that predominate among Americans, cliches acquired over long years of study in school, reinforced by the U.S. press, movies, and television, and also directly by the authorities.

What is the result of all this? Wholly outlandish ignorance. Thus, for instance, a public opinion poll conducted by THE NEW YORK TIMES showed that 44 percent of U.S. citizens did not know that Soviet and U.S. soldiers were allies in the years of World War II and

fought side by side; while 28 percent were even convinced that the Soviet Union was at that time the United States' enemy. When I think of the origins of such blatant ignorance, I involuntarily remember how once, at a modern art exhibition in New York, I came across a work by a certain (Jochim Hertz). The plate caption to the exhibit, for all to see, stated that (Hertz) spent 16 days on the Trans-Siberian railway, traveling from Vladivostok to Moscow and back in a carriage with the blinds pulled down over the windows. Every day he would stand on a new ceramic tile. (Hertz) then laid out all these tiles in a square in the exhibition hall, and scattered over them the ashes left after he had burned the notes he took during his visit to the Soviet Union. All this is presented as the latest achievement of philosophical art. This philosophic line is not just nonsense, it is nonsense with a point. For those U.S. anti-Soviets, the opponents of detente and instigators of the arms race, act in precise accordance with the principles of philosophic art. It is according to just such formulas as these that anti-Soviet myths are propagated with enviable regularity every time the U.S. Congress starts discussing the military budget for the next fiscal year. It is the Pentagon, its henchmen in Congress, and the advocates of militarism from the military complex and the mass media who really are attaining unprecedented heights in philosophical art. The flights of fancy are truly unlimited. It is forcibly drilled into readers day after day that the Soviets are stepping up arms, and that the United States is increasingly lagging behind the Russians in that sphere; that Western Europe is in danger of a crushing attack from the East; that the U.S. land-based missiles are extremely vulnerable, and so on and so forth.

In short, this is the way the Soviet Union is represented to Americans—with the image of a fierce and perfidious enemy. So, as you see, we Soviet journalists did indeed have something to put to our U.S. colleagues by way of a counter balance.

[Pravdin] Does this mean that your meeting with U.S. journalists turned out to be another confrontation between two irreconciliable opponents?

[Shishkin] Undoubtedly, there were indeed elements of confrontation in our contacts with our U.S. colleagues. But both sides exerted persistent efforts to direct the discussion into a constructive channel. For we have stepped out—if one can put it like that—upon the thin ice of mutual distrust, not in order to test its firmness, but in order to try to get rid of that distrust. We had evidence of the fact that this would be no easy task even before we left for the United States. What happened was that, a few days before, Wick asked for representatives of PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA to be included in the delegation. Deputy Editor in Chief Grigoryev joined the delegation from PRAVDA; and it was suggested that observer Stanislav Kondrashov should be sent from the IZVESTIYA editorial office. Wick was informed about all this, and he even considered it necessary to send his thanks for fulfilling his request so rapidly. However, Kondrashov was fated not to get to the meeting after all, since late in the evening the day before the delegation was due to depart the U.S. Embassy informed Kondrashov that the State Department had refused him a visa.

The Kondrashov episode was of course no accident. We very soon had occasion to ascertain how strong the positions of the extreme right wing, of those who are irreconciliable in their hostility toward socialism and the Soviet Union, are in the highest echelons of power. I have in mind here, in particular, what happened at out meeting in the White House with President Reagan. Wick presented us to the President, loudly calling out our surnames and the Soviet press organs we represented. Along with all the others, the chief editors of the Estonian and Latvian party newspapers, and the chairman of the Lithuanian State Television and Radio Committee, were presented to the President. When we were being presented, the President exchanged brief remarks with those of us who spoke English. At the end of the ceremony, however, he unexpectedly pulled out of his pocket the little box containing his hearing aid, and turning to us with an innocent expression declared: Well, just look at that! It was switched off, you see! So I didn't hear a thing! See, now the thing's started working, he added, demonstratively clicking the switch.

It is not hard to think of reasons that the President had to play out such a little show in front of us. The United States still does not recognize the existence of the Soviet Baltic Republics. And so the President decided to make out, when exchanging handshakes with official representatives of these republics, that he had no idea with whom he was dealing. And so it turned out that on the one hand, the President showed good will in courteously receiving Soviet journalists, yet on the other hand, he appeared not to sacrifice his anti-Soviet prejudices, and at the same time secured his flank against attacks from the ultra-conservatives.

[Pravdin] What practical results emerged from all the contacts in Washington?

[Shishkin] The main result is, as was stressed from both the U.S. and our side, that for the first time in the entire history of Soviet-U.S. relations, an official meeting of this sort took place between leading representatives of the mass media of the two countries. There was detailed discussion in a businesslike and constructive spirit of the question of journalists' responsibility for the way they cover the life of another country, of the need to overcome the established stereotypes and the impermissibility of cultivating hostile images. In the course of the exchange of opinions, we gained the impression that the U.S. mass media are having difficulty in finding their way over to cover the complex problems of restructuring in our country. Yet, nevertheless, the coverage of Soviet problems in the U.S. mass media has started to considerably improve recently. It has become more detailed, the range of subject matter has widened, and greater

balance and lack of prejudice have emerged. The reality of our restructuring is such that, even regardless of the disposition of various journalists, the old stereotypes and false notions about the Soviet Union are crumbling.

All this, however, does not of course mean that hostile images have completely disappeared from the pages of U.S. newspapers. Summing up the results of the discussions which took place, both sides expressed satisfaction at having succeeded in coming to agreement on joint efforts to reduce on both sides the restructions on the work of correspondents, of Soviet correspondents in the United States and U.S. correspondents in the USSR; and also to eliminate hostile images from our written and spoken statements. An accord was reached for the next meeting to take place in Moscow.

[Pravdin] Thank you, Gennadiy Arkadiyevich.

U.S. Businessman Bronfman Travels to Moscow

Meets With Shevarnadze

LD1405155888 Moscow TASS in English
1524 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—Eduard Shevarnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, today received Edgar Bronfman, head of the Seagram Corporation and president of the World Jewish Congress, at the request of this prominent American businessman who is currently staying in Moscow.

In the course of the conversation they touched upon the questions of Soviet-U.S. relations, including trade and economic relations, and some international issues.

Edgar Bronfman said that the business circles and the public at large in America supported wider political dialogue between the USSR and United States, the continuation of the process of limiting arms and promoting disarmament, which must include, along with the earliest ratification of the INF Treaty, further progress in drafting the agremeement on a 50 percent cut in strategic nuclear arsenals. On behalf of the World Jewish Congress he also expressed the wish of that organifation to contribute to positive processes in East-West relations in the field of security and in a search for ways of settling regional conflicts, including the Middle Eastern problem.

Eduard Shevardnadze expressed satisfaction with the striving of the business community and public in the USA to make their constructive contribution to improving Soviet-U.S. relations and normalizing the international situation on the whole.

A principled approach to tackling the most urgent problems of our day, of which that of ridding mankind from nuclear danger was the key problem, was expressed. Defusing the existing conflict situations in various regions of the world, in particular in the Middle East, remains an important task. The Soviet Union, as was stressed in this connection, consistently comes out in support of the just settlement of the Middle East problem by political means with the interests of all sides involved taken into account. A real way to this lies through preparing and holding an internatioanl conference on the Middle East.

Since Edgar Bronfman raised in the conversation some issues connected with certain citizens of Jewish nationality who wish to leave the USSR and freedom of religious worship, Eduard Shevardnadze gave relevant explanations. It was noted, in particular, that in the process of democratization of all sides of the life of our society, necessary measures are being taken to perfect various legal norms, including those connected with entering and leaving the Soviet Union, and with the situation of the believers. Edgar Bronfman expressed satisfaction with the explanations he received.

Confers With Dobrynin

LD1505191788 Moscow TASS in English
1812 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS—Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin received prominent representative of the U.S. business circles, president of the World Jewish Congress Edgar Bronfman at the latter's request.

E. Bronfman said the U.S. business circles, the majority of the American people welcome the coming meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Moscow and hope it will make a new important contribution to the establishment of constructive cooperation between the two countries in the political, economic and other areas.

In this connection E. Bronfman expressed the wish to discuss the questions of the Middle East problem in greater detail during the conversation. E. Bronfman declared in favour of the intensification of interaction between the United States and the USSR in this direction. He is of the opinion that there is certain progress in this matter in the attitudes of the public of the United States and Israel of late, even though certain difficulties persist, specifically, in connection with the election campaigns in both countries. In this context, E. Bronfman pointed to the expediency of the restoration of diplomatic relations between Israel and the USSR.

The Soviet Union's consistent stand with regard to a prompt fair settlement in the Middle East in the interests of all peoples of the region was set out to E. Bronfman in a substantiated way. The principles of this settlement on whose basis the USSR, the United States and other countries could cooperate effectively were set out in Mikhail Gorbachev's speeches and statements more than once. An international conference under the United Nations auspices is the most effective mechanism of the

Middle East settlement. The recognition by all of its participants of the U.N. Security Council's resolutions 242 and 338 and of the Palestinian people's lawful rights, including the right to self-determination, should become the legal basis for such a conference. The question of restoration of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel could be resolved in the framework of this settlement. E. Bronfman accepted the explanations of the Soviet stand with gratitude.

China

Journalists' Union Delegation Arrives in PRC

LD1405163588 Moscow TASS in English 1536 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Beijing May 14 TASS—A delegation of the Soviet Union of Journalists arrived in Beijing today at the invitation of the All-China Association of Journalists.

The delegation is led by Viktor Afanasyev, chairman of the Board of the Journalists' Union and editor-in-chief of the newspaper PRAVDA.

The Soviet journalists will acquaint themselves with the reform of China's economic and political structure and meet with media executives to exchange experience of work of the Soviet and Chinese press in covering the perestroyka, or restructuring, drive in the Soviet Union and the reform in China.

They will also visit the cities Dalian, Shenyang, Shanghai, Guangzhou and the special economic zone of Shenzhen.

Heilongjiang Border Trade Points Established

LD1505101288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1804 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Beijing, 14 May (TASS)—Another six towns and counties in the Chinese province of Heilongjiang which borders on the Soviet Union have been confirmed as points for Chinese-Soviet border trade with the sanction of the PRC State Council. The XINHUA NEWS AGENCY reports that they are Mishan, Hulin, Raohe, Luobei, Jiayin and Mohe. Previously there were only three such points in this province.

The agency notes that Heilongjiang trade with the Soviet Union has been greatly developed recently. In 4 months of this year trade amounted to 30 million Swiss francs, while the figure amounted to only 140 million for the period 1982-87. Along with the strengthening of contacts with the Soviet foreign trade company Dalintorg, Heilongjiang has established direct trade links with Amur oblast and Khabarovsk and Maritime krays. Searches are underway for ways to enlarge technical and economic cooperation on the basis of border barter trade.

XINHUA recalls that several agreements on cooperation have already been signed between China and the Soviet Union, including one on the repair of Soviet ships in PRC wharves. Talks are continuing on a number of joint projects.

PRC Airliner Reported Hijacked to Taiwan

LD1305150688 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Beijing May 13 TASS—According a XINHUA agency report, the Boeing-737 plane of the General Administration of Civil Aviation of China (GACAC) which was yesterday on a flight on the route Xiamen-Guangzhou, was captured by armed persons and landed in Qingquangang Air Force base in the central part of Taiwan Island at 22:30 of Beijing time. There were 107 passengers and 11 crew members on board the plane.

Hu Yizhou, chief of GACAC, addressed a telegram to the chief of the Civil Aviation administration of Taiwan, requesting that the security of all passengers and crew be ensured and that assistance be given for their speediest return to Xiamen. The telegram also noted the need for the extradition of hijackers.

All the 105 passengers with the exception of the two criminals and 11 crew members returned in the hijacked plane to Xiamen at 5:00 of Beijing time today, the XINHUA agency said.

Northeast Asia

Biryukova Leaves for Pyongyang Visit

LD1405230288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] A CPSU delegation, headed by Comrade Biryukova, left Moscow today for Pyongyang in accordance with a plan for links between the CPSU and the Korean Workers' Party. At the airport the delegation was seen off by Comrade Lukyanov and other senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as the DPRK ambassador to the USSR, Kwan Hui-kyong.

Arrives in DPRK

LD1605064388 Moscow TASS in English 0625 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Pyongyang May 16 TASS—A CPSU delegation, headed by A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea today in accordance with the plan of developing ties between the CPSU and the Korean Workers' Party.

At Pyongyang airport the CPSU delegation was met by Yon Hyong-muk, member of the Political Bureau of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee and secretary of the party Central Committee, as well as other officials.

Also present was G.G. Bartoshevich, Soviet ambassador to the DPRK.

Admiral Khvatov Greeted by DPRK's O Chin-u

LD1305132188 Moscow TASS in English 1147 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Pyongyang May 13 TASS—Vice-Marshal of the Korean People's Army O Chin-u, a member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea who is minister of the People's Armed Forces of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, today received Admiral Gennadiy Khvatov who is leading a Soviet naval group on an official friendly visit to the port of Wonsan.

The group includes the anti-submarine cruiser Novorossiysk, the big anti-submarine ship Admiral Zakharov and the destroyer Boyevoy.

In the conversation between O Chin-u and Gennadiy Khvatov, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, the mutual desire was stressed to strengthen and develop inviolable friendship between the people and Armed Forces of the USSR and the DPRK.

Vice-Marshal O Chin-u presented Admiral Gennadiy Khvatov with a commemorative banner of the Ministry of the People's Armed Forces of the DPRK.

The meeting was attended by Admiral Kim Il-chol, commander of the DPRK Navy, and Gennadiy Bartoshevich, Soviet ambassador to this country.

Later in the day Admiral Khvatov placed wreaths at the Chesongsang cemetery of revolutionaries, at the liberation movement erected in Pyongyang in honor of the Soviet soldiers who fell fighting to liberate the Korean people from Japanese colonial rule, and at the cemetery where Soviet troops who fell liberating Korea are buried.

Received by Kim Il-song

LD1405230088 Moscow TASS in English 2141 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Pyongyang May 14 TASS—Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, received Commander of the Pacific Fleet Admiral Gennadiy Khvatov, who leads a flotilla of Soviet naval vessels on an official friendly visit in the port of Wonsan, DPRK.

The visit of Soviet naval vessels, Kim Il-song said, is a demonstration of friendship and cohesion between the peoples of the Soviet Union and DPRK. It will help strengthen them further, speaking about the situation in the Far East, the Korean leader said that the DPRK was concerned over the continuing military preparations of the USA and Japan in the region. The initiatives contained in the Vladivostok speech of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the Delhi declaration, he signed, are aimed at ensuring security in Asia and creating a nuclear-free world. "We," Kim Il-song said, "appreciate and support these proposals of the Soviet Union."

The conversation, which passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere was attended by Vice Marshal of the Korean People's Army O Chin-u, member of the presidium of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party and minister of the People's Armed Forces of the DPRK, Admiral Kim Il-chol, commander of the Navy of the DPRK, and Soviet ambassador to the DPRK Gennadiy Bartoshevich.

Petrovskiy, DPRK Foreign Affairs Official Meet

LD1405193988 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—The head of the Department of International Organisations of the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Yi Chin-kyu [name and title as received], had consultations at the Soviet Foreign Ministry Friday on matters related to the forthcoming 3rd special U.N. General Assembly on disarmament, the 43rd General Assembly session, and other international issues of mutual interest.

Yi Chin-kyu had a conversation with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy.

DPRK UN Observer on 'Team Spirit' Exercises

LD1305230888 Moscow TASS in English 1908 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] New York May 13 TASS—TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Chernyshev reports:

Permanent observer of the DPRK to the United Nations Pak Kil-yon sent a letter to the chairman of the United Nations Security Council to call the attention of the international community to the extremely dangerous "military games" of the USA on the Korean peninsula, to the incessant military provocations and acts of hostility against the DPRK. The letter issued today as a document of the Security Council says that from January to March of this year, U.S. Armed Forces and the South Korean Army committed 36,100 acts of violation of the agreement on armistice in Korea.

Since early February the United States and South Korea have been holding joint military exercises code-named "Team Spirit-88." 200,000 servicemen, including 60,000 U.S. troops, are involved in the exercises. The commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet announced recently that after these exercises the Midway aircraft carrier and other naval ships will remain in the coastal waters of South Korea to conduct exercises. And a spokesman for the U.S. Department of State announced "permanent U.S. aid" for the purposes of "ensuring the successful

holding" of the Olympic Games. It was announced recently that during the Olympics the United States and Japan will conduct their biggest joint naval exercises ever.

The letter says that the United States and the South Korean authorities do not miss an opportunity to raise a hullabaloo around the "security" of the Olympic Games. But there is no need either for naval ships or weapons for their holding. Arms build-up and military exercises can serve aggressive purposes only. It is precisely the United States and the South Korean authorities that are behind the aggravation of tension in the Korean peninsula, the document says.

Radio Comments on Rogachev-Doi Meeting
OW1405092988 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] A visiting delegation of the Japan Socialist Party led by Chairwoman Takako Doi met with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev on 10 May at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. At the meeting, measures to reduce levels of military presence in the Asia-Pacific region and to settle regional conflicts were discussed. Also discussed were a series of specific aspects of Japan-USSR relations.

Dmitriyev Views Gorbachev-Doi Talks
OW1305125188 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 11 May 88

[Dmitriyev commentary on 6 May Moscow talks between CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev and the Japanese Socialist Party [JSP] delegation headed by Takako Doi]

[Text] The present state of Soviet-Japanese relations has been cynically described by General Secretary Gorbachev as a smoldering bonfire which does not flare up, but which produces a lot of smoke. To continue the analogy, perhaps this smoke strongly irritates the eyes of both parties every so often and is not at all pleasing to them. To cite an example, last year's Toshiba incident resulted in the deterioration of political relations and retrenchment of economic relations.

On the other hand, since the two countries are neighbors, this opportunity should be utilized to the interests of both. There has been such a precedent in history during the seventies when economic cooperation between the two nations was at its peak. In particular, regarding the Soviet perestroyka, at present, more and more opportunities are opening up for cooperation from joint ventures in timber processing to the field of nuclear fusion.

Answering queries during his talks with JSP Chairwoman Doi, General Secretary Gorbachev stressed the importance of promoting relations between the two countries in all fields, including political dialogue, personnel exchange, cooperation in science and technology, and expansion of trade. The positive atmosphere during the talk between the leaders of the CPSU and JSP also characterized discussions on problems in bilateral relations. On behalf of the Soviet people, General Secretary Gorbachev expressed his respect for the Japanese people. He called for opening up a new chapter in the history of Soviet Japanese relations.

The need for improvement of relations has not only been stressed by reformist and democratic forces in Japan, but also by conservative ruling party personages. During talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze on 7 May, LDP [Liberal Democratic Party] Dietman Itoyama, chairman of the lower house Committee on Foreign Affairs referred to the increasing importance of Soviet-Japanese relations and stressed the importance of searching for ways of improving relations. Furthermore, according to several opinion polls, a majority of Japanese people desires better relations with neighboring countries. The Japanese Government is expected to translate such sentiments into concrete policies toward the USSR. The USSR is prepared to exert its share of the efforts.

General Secretary Gorbachev stressed in his discussions with the JSP delegation that Japan occupies an important position in Soviet foreign policy. He reaffirmed the position declared by the Soviet side during the 1986 visit of Abe, then foreign minister.

At that time, the Soviets stressed their basic policy of promoting relations with Japan, irrespective of other countries' relations with Japan. However, in the meantime, the Japanese leadership has time and again sacrificed Soviet-Japanese relations in favor of external factors, primarily Japan-United States relations. This is the reason for the instability and unpredictability of Soviet-Japanese exchanges. For example, as bilateral economic cooperation was about to recover from the stagnation of the early eighties, Japan soon acceded to Cocom rules under the pressure from the United States and once more reduced the scale of its cooperation. Does such an attitude really conform to the long-term interests of the Japanese people? Especially at this time when relations between West European and Asian countries, and even between the Untied States and the Soviet Union, have improved. We have to point out that Japan is being left out of this international process.

On the eve of her Soviet visit, in an interview with the YOMIURI SHIMBUN, Chairwoman Doi indicated that the Japanese Government is not exerting any effort toward the improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations. Earlier, in April, YOMIURI SHIMBUN had also run an item on the position of the Japanese Foreign Ministry saying that in the past few months, Foreign Ministry officials had been stating that there is no need for Japan to indicate any willingness to compromise. That is, the Japanese Government seems to continue to discount any

possibilities for whatever compromise toward the improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations. However, the Soviet side, too, has absolutely no reason to make any unilateral concessions.

In his meeting with the JSP delegation, General Secretary Gorbachev emphasized two points in the Soviet approach: first, Soviet willingness to improve relations based on postwar realities; second, that it is groundless to speculate that the USSR will impose its friendship some day. The process of strengthening friendship must be undertaken bilaterally. We believe that this is possible even if differences concerning certain questions remain unresolved. As the resumption of the exchange of visits between foreign ministers of both countries have become possible again, we believe this is a chance that should not be missed.

Japanese Minister Okuno Apologizes for Remarks

LD1305195088 Moscow TASS in English 1209 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Tokyo May 13 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev:

Minister of state, director-general of the national land agency [no name as received] made a public apology. He was forced to offer his apology in face of the broad protests touched off by his attempts at justifying Tokyo's aggressive policy during the years of the Second World War. Recently Seisuke Okuno has made a whole series of statements claiming that Japan "was no aggressor", "did not have aggressive intentions at all" and was almost on self-defence in "freeing the Asian nations from the colonial rule of the white race."

Official representatives and the mass media of the neighbour Asian states have condemned the scandalous pronouncements by Okuno, as a result of which, as the spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Ministry admitted, "serious damage has been done to Japan's relations with those countries."

The opposition parties have announced their intention to seek in parliament a vote of no confidence for that figure notorious for his rightist views, the KYODO news agency said.

Yet Okuno made it clear that he did not intend to go back on his statements. And he brought his apologies at a press conference after today's cabinet meeting not for his scandalous pronouncements but for "concern" about the criticism of his statements abroad and in Japan itself. Other cabinet members earlier made statements in the same spirit, they actually refused to describe Japan's actions during the years of the Second World War as aggression. Support for Okuno has been expressed by a group of "hawks" from among the MP's from the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party.

At the same time, as is believed in the local journalistic circles, Okuno will have, to all appearances, to resign from his office in order to enable the Takeshita cabinet to hush up the diplomatic and political scandal.

Resigns 13 May

LD1305195488 Moscow TASS in English 1348 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Tokyo May 13 TASS—Minister of state, head of the state-owned Land Administration of Japan Seisuke Okuno resigned today. Prime Minister Naboru Takeshita accepted the resignation.

Seisuke Okuno was strongly criticised by a number of Asian states and representatives of Japanese opposition for repeated pronouncements in defense of Japan's aggressive actions in China and other Asian countries in the 1930s-1940s.

Pravdin Condemns Japanese Military Buildup

LD1205231088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 May 88

[Sergey Pravdin commentary]

[Text] Speaking in parliament, Takeshita, the Japanese prime minister, has lent support to the further build-up of Japan's military might. This might should, in his words, be in keeping with Japan's status as the West's second most important economic power. Takeshita said that Japan will continue to increase its expenditure on military goals. A commentary on the latest news with Sergey Pravdin at the microphone:

[Pravdin] Japan's military budget is this year again being increased by more than 5 percent over that of last year to exceed $30 billion. As Sigur, assistant U.S. secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, has said, on these figures Japan is out-stripping most of the NATO countries. In terms of its military expenditure, it is now in the fifth place in the world, and among the nonnuclear capitalist powers in second place behind the FRG. The administration of Japan's national defense is now talking about arming with its first aircraft carriers, cruise missiles, brand new aircraft, and tanks. A mighty military industry has been created in the country, and recently in an underground bunker at the Yokosuka military base, Japan's first command computer center became operational. In particular it will plan the Japanese Navy's operations in the northwest sector of the Pacific Ocean. The so-called blockade of Far Eastern straits and combat actions in regions 1,000 miles from Japan form the basis of the Japanese military command's present plans. For the time being, however, the military agency is pushing on with all sorts of joint maneuvers with its main allies in the Pacific region—the United States and South Korea.

At the same time chauvinist and revanchist trends are on the upsurge again in Japan. Of late, members of the cabinet—not infrequently headed by the prime minister—have been taking part in various revanchist and other right-wing events.

Today's Japanese newspapers describe in fulsome detail yesterday's turbulent debates in parliament, in the course of which Prime Minister Takeshita in actual fact made common cause with Okuno, one of his ministers known for his extreme right-wing tendencies. Okuno, for example, tried in all earnestness to prove that during World War II Japan did not pursue an aggressive, militaristic foreign policy, but instead defended itself and liberated Asia from the colonial domination of the white race.

In seeking to justify the militaristic preparations, the Japanese official propaganda machine makes out that there is a threat to Japan from the Soviet Union. The AKAHATA newspaper, criticising Japan's militaristic preparations, stresses that this is a short-sighted and dangerous course.

U.S. Wants Greater Japanese Defense Role

LD1305110888 Moscow TASS in English 0727 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Tokyo May 13 TASS—Japan can and must play a bigger role in the military field in the Asia-Pacific region, asserts first U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense [title as received] William Taft.

Speaking at the Japanese National Press Club in Tokyo on Thursday, he put forward, on the Pentagon's behalf, four concrete proposals for Japan to build up its military effort. The Japanese armed forces are insistently recommended to purchase a long-range AWACS plane, and OTH [over the horizon] radar and other up-to-date systems of armaments to broaden "the perimeter of security" of Japan. It is proposed that Japanese and American sides should coordinate their efforts in arms deliveries and jointly design equipment. The third demand is that Japan should increase its contribution to the upkeep of American troops in the Japanese isles. Washington also insists on expansion of Japan's official aid to foreign states, including the Philippines, Turkey, South Pacific states.

These proposals will be discussed during the Tokyo June visit of U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci, said William Taft. He said that Japan responded faster and more efficiently to the U.S. call upon its allies to undertake part of the "military burden."

But Japan is yet to build up more actively its military preparations, said the high-placed Pentagon emissary. To "substantiate" the thesis he resorted to the hackneyed "Soviet threat" invention.

Touching upon the American military presence in Japan, William Taft asserted that the United States was not going to give up its obligations for "defences" of the region. America shall remain a Pacific power in 1990s and later, declared the first deputy defence secretary of the United States.

At a meeting with Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno William Taft insisted officially that Japan should build up faster its military potential. He referred to the demand of the U.S. Congress that the American allies should step up their efforts in that field.

Okinawa Remains U.S. 'Aircraft Carrier'

LD1505132088 Moscow TASS in English 1252 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] Tokyo May 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent V. Borodin:

It is 16 years today since the turning over by the United States to Japan of administrative rights to Okinawa. After the end of the Second World War the island was for many years under the U.S. occupation and the Japanese, who lived on it, were practically deprived of connections with the rest of the country—each trip from there "to Japan" was treated by the U.S. authorities as a trip abroad with all the ensuing consequences. In the period of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam, Okinawa served as one of the main stations for the strategic bombers "B-52." It is precisely at that time that a number of secret memoranda was prepared in the USA to provide for the preservation forever of U.S. rule in Okinawa.

As a result of the tough fight by the Japanese, the island was formally returned to the country in 1972. Yet today it actually remains, as before, an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" of the USA. Twent-five thousand hectares of the best lands, i.e. 12 percent of the whole territory of the island, have been forcibly taken away from the Okinawa peasants. Three quarters of all the U.S. military facilities in Japan are concentrated there. Okinawa has the Kadena Airforce Base, one of the biggest U.S. Airforce bases in the Far East, the U.S. naval base White Beach, military airfields and sea outposts, artillery practice grounds, tankdromes [as received], strategic communication stations and military ammunition depots. Also deployed on the island are units of the Marines and the commandos trained for acts of sabotage and terrorism. According to information of Japanese anti-war organizations, a special U.S. Army unit having at its disposal nuclear ammunition, is also stationed in the island.

Potapov on Okinawa Antiwar Demonstration

OW1605061988 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 13 May 88

[Potapov commentary]

[Text] A mass antiwar demonstration was held in Okinawa Prefecture, Japan, on 12 May. Radio Moscow commentator Potapov remarks:

[Begin Potapov recording] Okinawa Prefecture residents marked the 16th anniversary of Okinawa's reversion to Japanese rule by holding an antiwar rally. Okinawa had been one of the Pentagon's biggest bases in the Far East before the reversion. The rally adopted an appeal calling for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. bases from Okinawa. The U.S. bases present occupy one-fifth of Okinawa, which has a population of 1 million. Arable land and conveniently located beaches have been taken up by the U.S. bases.

In Okinawa, Japan's basic military facilities are concentrated. There are strategic communications stations for nuclear war, according to Japanese antiwar organizations. A special unit to deal with nuclear bombs is also deployed there. U.S. nuclear-powered submarines carrying nuclear-capable cruise missiles have been frequenting a port in Okinawa. Flights of strategic B-52 bombers to and from Kadena Air Base have been reported.

In an interview with Radio Moscow, Chobo Zukeran, secretary general of the Okinawa Socialist Masses Party, said: U.S. bases are hurting the Okinawan economy. The jobless rate in Okinawa is five times that of mainland Japan. The presence of the Pentagon's nuclear facilities in Okinawa means that Okinawa will be destroyed in a moment if a major conflict occurs. Threfore, all citizens are participating in the antibase campaign, which is a life or death issue to us, to call for peace for themselves and their children. [end recording]

Moscow Reports Hiroshima Antinuclear Protest

OW1605013188 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] According to a TASS dispatch from Tokyo, Hiroshima City, the first city hit by an atomic bomb in the world, has recently sent cables to the United States and France, protesting their nuclear tests conducted lately in Nevada and Mururoa Atoll, respectively. In the cables, the city pointed out that such acts trample on the desire of the people in the world for peace and run counter to the current moves toward nuclear disarmament. At the Peace Park in Hiroshima, antiwar activists staged a demonstration against the tests of genocidal weapons.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Thai Prime Minister Arrives in Moscow 16 May

Departs Bangkok

LD1605075388 Moscow TASS in English 0727 GMT 16 May 88

["Thai Prime Minister Left on Official Visit to USSR"—TASS headline]

[Text] Bangkok May 16 TASS—Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon of the Kingdom of Thailand today flew to Moscow on an official visit. He was invited by the Soviet Government.

He is accompanied by Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila, Minister of the Interior Prachuap Suntharangkun, and ministers to the prime minister's office Argun Panupong and Michai Ruchupan.

Met by Ryzhkov, Shevardnadze

LD1605110988 Moscow TASS in English 1104 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon of the Kingdom of Thailand arrived in Moscow today on an official visit. He was invited by the Soviet Government.

At the airport Prem Tinsulanon was met by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR, and other officials.

Vietnam Foreign Ministry Sends Note to PRC

LD1405022388 Moscow TASS in English 2154 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Hanoi May 13 TASS—The Foreign Ministry of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV) sent a note to the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China, an official report released here says.

In recent days, the Chinese side has reported on more than one occasion that Vietnam allegedly makes incursions into Chinese territory and stages provocations. These reports have nothing in common with reality. What actually occurs is that the Chinese side, dodging a response to Vietnam's proposals for ceasing hostile armed actions on the border between the two countries, goes ahead as before with its armed actions and puts military pressure on Vietnam's northern border areas.

As a result of this the situation on the border between the two countries continues to remain tense. This does not accord with the aspiration of the two countries' peoples to restore within the shortest possible time the relations of traditional friendship between Vietnam and China in the interests of each of the sides, first and foremost, in the interests of the population of the two countries' border areas.

To remove tension on the border between the two countries as soon as possible, the Vietnamese side proposes conducting talks on the land border. During the period when an understanding is worked out on the level, venue and time of the holding of talks, the sides should halt hostile military actions on the border between the two countries and withdraw their armed forces away from the border on its entire length. It suggested forming a mixed Vietnamese-Chinese commission to oversee how these measures are implemented.

The Government of the SRV proposes once again conducting peace talks to iron out differences between the two countries concerning the Spratly and Paracel Islands. In the anticipation of these talks, the force of arms should not be used and any clashes be avoided not to allow a deterioration of the situation.

In putting forward these proposals afresh, the SRV Government expresses confidence that Vietnam and China will jointly put them into effect and conduct negotiations to solve the issues pertaining both to the land border and the afore-mentioned islands. These actions will be welcomed by the peoples of both countries, the public in the region and all over the world, the note emphasizes.

Near East & South Asia

Reportage on Beginning of Afghanistan Withdrawal

Joint Soviet-Afghan Statement

LD1405154588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 May 88 Morning Edition p 1

["Joint Soviet-Afghan Statement"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] On 15 May 1988, the day that the Geneva agreements on a political settlement of the external aspects of the Afghan problem enter into force, the Soviet Union and Afghanistan deem it necessary to state the following.

The agreements signed in Geneva were greeted with satisfaction and hope by the Soviet and Afghan peoples and throughout the world. Each of the sides that signed the agreements must do everything to ensure that the goals, for whose sake work on the provisions of the Geneva documents was carried out for 6 long years, are achieved.

The pivotal question in the settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan remains the cessation of external interference in Afghans' internal affairs. The pledges relating to this contained in the agreements are perfectly specific and unequivocal: Interference must be ended and the very material base that is now used for such interference must be eliminated. It is necessary to keep a constant eye on how these important provisions of the agreement relating to principles of relations and especially relating to noninterference and the renunciation of intervention between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan are fulfilled.

In accordance with the Geneva documents, the withdrawal of the Limited Contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is beginning today. As laid down by the Agreement on Interrelationships for the Settlement of the Situation Relating to Afghanistan, the troop withdrawal will be carried out over 9 months, and half the contingent will be withdrawn in the 1st 3 months, that is, by 15 August 1988.

Soviet troops entered Afghanistan at the request of the latter's legitimate government with honest and noble aims. The Soviet Union has always unconditionally respected and continues to respect its southern neighbor's sovereignty, and this respect forms the foundation of the relations of good-neighborliness and cooperation that have existed for several decades between the two countries. For its part, Afghanistan has always viewed the Soviet Union as a country that has repeatedly come to its assistance at difficult times for the Afghan people, guided by the principles of good-neighborliness.

Now that the Soviet troops are returning home, the total absurdity of claims of "Moscow's expansionist aims" and its desire to use Afghanistan as an outlet to "warm seas" is again obvious. If the Geneva agreements had been concluded earlier, as the Soviet Union and Afghanistan in fact wanted, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan would have begun earlier too.

Today, on the day when the Soviet troop withdrawal is beginning, the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan deem it necessary to stress the importance and significance of the traditional historical friendship between the two countries, which has become particularly firm and tempered during years that have been hard for Afghanistan and which has been sealed by the blood of Afghan patriots and Soviet internationalist servicemen jointly shed in the name of the country's bright future.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan are firmly convinced that the signing and entry into force of the Geneva agreements can and must facilitate the settlement of the internal aspects of the Afghan problem also. The policy of national reconciliation being pursued in Afghanistan has already created the necessary preconditions for such a development of events. In today's Afghanistan, all strata of Afghan society and all nationalities have equal political, economic, and social rights, and equal opportunities to work for the good of the country and to take part in its political life on a multiparty basis have been opened up for all Afghans. The Islamic religion, its traditions, and its customs enjoy profound respect and recognition from the state. Coalition organs of power are being created throughout the country. The Afghan leadership states that it is prepared to continue to promote in every possible way this process and the formation in Kabul of a coalition government on the broadest possible basis.

On the day on which the Geneva agreements enter into force the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan reiterates its appeal to all opposition forces to cease fire, to cease the fratricidal war and bloodshed, to sit down at the negotiating table, and to build together a peaceful

and prosperous state. It expresses the confidence that Afghan refugees will also join actively in the process of this building; all the necessary conditions are being created for their return to their homeland as citizens enjoying full rights.

The Soviet side believes that this policy provides an opportunity to solve the Afghan problem among the Afghans themselves.

Proceeding from the provisions of the joint Soviet-Afghan Statement adopted on the results of the 7 April 1988 meeting in Tashkent between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan reaffirm their readiness to strengthen and develop in every possible way large-scale Soviet-Afghan cooperation in all spheres.

The Soviet side will further develop economic cooperation with Afghanistan, expand trade, and promote the development of direct ties between Soviet republics, oblasts, and cities and Afghan provinces and cities. The Soviet side confirms its intention to continue to assist Afghanistan in organizing the lives of Afghan refugees returning from Pakistan and Iran.

The Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan appeal to all states to promote the restoration of the war-ravaged Afghan economy and the economic and social development of the Republic of Afghanistan both on a bilateral basis and within the framework of multilateral aid programs, including under UN auspices. The Soviet Union is prepared to take due part in such international programs.

The Soviet and Afghan sides highly assess the work carried out to create UN machinery to verify compliance with the implementation of the Geneva agreements and express the hope that the activity of UN observers will make an effective contribution to implementing the Geneva process. The Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan are convinced that full and conscientious fulfillment by all sides of the pledges they have assumed under the Geneva agreements will make it possible to achieve the speediest solution of the external aspects of the Afghan problem, and this in its turn will be an important fillip to a complete and all-embracing Afghan settlement. They are also convinced that the Geneva experience will stimulate the quest for solutions to other regional conflicts, notwithstanding all their specific complexities and particular features.

CPSU CC Address to Troops

LD1505073888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] The Geneva agreements on the political settlement of external aspects of the Afghan problem come into force today, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan begins.

The CPSU Central Committee has adopted an address to the Soviet internationalist servicemen. It says:

Dear comrades: You are returning to the motherland. We greet you, who have honestly and courageously performed your military duty and have displayed in action your lofty feelings of internationalism. The days of stern tests are now behind you. In these tests, you were strengthened by a profound belief in the noble cause of helping a friendly people. You have carried out the orders of the motherland. As you passed through the fire of battle, you learned to love the motherland even more strongly, your parents' home, and the men and women who are your friends. You also found out what the hatred of enemies is like.

One must speak with particular warmth of the resilience and compassion of our splendid women—the doctors, nurses, and other specialists who, in the harsh conditions of war, displayed the best qualities of the Soviet person.

The names of your comrades-in-arms killed in action will be forever remembered by the people. These losses are irreplaceable. Great is our sorrow. The families of those who died or were wounded in the war will be surrounded by the concern of the nation. The bonds of brotherhood-in-arms and comradeliness oblige you, too, to be always by their side.

Having performed your lofty duty, some of you are returning to peacetime professions, while others remain in the ranks. We are sure that each of you will carry out the new tasks with the same selflessness. Your energy is needed today for perestroyka, for the cause of renewing socialism, and for the defense of its gains. The party believes in you, relies on you, and calls you to the front ranks of the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of Soviet society.

Glory to the soldiers of the fatherland! Glory to the sons and daughters of the motherland!"

These words bring to a close the address of the CPSU Central Committee.

UN Statement on Pullout

LD1505192088 Moscow TASS in English 1828 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 15 TASS—The BAKHTAR news agency circulated here today a statement by deputy envoy of the U.N. secretary-general on the settlement of the situation regarding Afghanistan, Major-General R. Helminen. He said he had the assurances from Afghanistan and Pakistan that they would take very necessary measure to comply with the provisions of the Geneva accords. Moreover, the Republic of Afghanistan will be striving to develop goodneighbourly relations with Pakistan on the basis of non-interference in each other's

internal affairs and mutual respect. As to Afghan refugees, he said every condition had been created for their return to Afghanistan. The United Nations Mission on Refugees' Problems will shortly be open in Kabul.

Dwelling on the Soviet troops' withdrawal that started today, R. Helminen said it would proceed strictly on schedule, that is half of the continent will be pulled out from the Afghan territory in the first three months and the remaining contingent within the next six months.

Najibullah, Keshtmand Message

[Untitled telegram to Soviet leaders]
PM16051025 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 88 Second Edition p 1

[Text] Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade A.A. Gromyko, president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers:

Dear comrades,

Today, 15 May 1988, corresponds with the implementation of the Geneva accords concerning a political solution of the situation around Afghanistan. We hope that strict implementation of these accords, which have been achieved as a result of joint efforts by all the sides concerned, in the light of the new thinking, will lead to the ending of interference from abroad in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and the resolution of the foreign aspects of the Afghanistan issue. Our compatriots who live abroad will return to their homes and the Soviet forces will return to their country.

Allow me, on behalf of the Government of Afghanistan and all the people of Afghanistan, to express the most cordial gratitude to the Great Soviet people, to the CPSU Central Committee, to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and to the Soviet Government for their all-round support for our struggle for an independent, sovereign, nonaligned, and neutral Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union helped Afghanistan during one of the most difficult and critical periods of its history, based on the agreement on friendship, cooperation, and good-neighborliness dated 5 December 1978.

All true patriotic Afghans will forever remember with gratitude the feat of the Soviet internationalist combatants in Afghanistan in defense of its freedom and independence. We bow with respect to the shining memory of those Soviet sons who sacrificed their lives and shed their blood in fulfilling this high mission. Let their families and relatives and all the Soviet people know that their blood has not been shed needlessly. The people of Afghanistan will continue along the path of peace and progress.

The traditional and friendly Afghan-Soviet relations, which meet the fundamental vital interests of the peoples of our countries which neighbor each other and in which a new stage is opening up, will continue to develop in the future. We wish great and further successes for the people of the Soviet Union and for the leaders of the Soviet Union in implementation of the policy of restructuring Soviet society and in the struggle for ensuring peace and security on our planet.

[Signed] Najibullah, president of Afghanistan and general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee;

Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand, prime minister of Republic of Afghanistan.

Najibullah Speaks at Rally

LD1605084988 Moscow TASS in English 0837 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 16 TASS—Tens of thousands of Kabul residents came to the capital city's suburb to see off departing Soviet internationalist troops.

The farewell rally was attended by President Najibullah and other Afghan leaders, representatives of the commands of the Soviet and Afghan armies, U.N. observers, and reporters from many countries.

Najibullah delivered a speech at the rally.

After it the Soviet military unit continued its way home in a column of vehicles.

Najibullah News Conference

LD1405170088 Moscow TASS in English 1640 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent German Baykov:

Afghan President Najibullah today gave a press conference for Afghan and foreign reporters, devoted to the beginning of a withdrawal of a Limited Contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

"We can by right describe this year's spring as an Afghan spring," he said.

"The signing of the Geneva accords is the main event of this spring. The road toward May 15 has been long and no easy.

"The Soviet and Afghan leaders' statements of February 8 and our meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev in Tashkent has a decisive effect on the outcome of the Geneva talks," Najibullah said.

"The Geneva accords ensure guarantees of non-interference, this is why the Soviet troops are returning home."

Further on News Conference

PM1605125188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 May 88 Morning Edition pp 1, 6

["Najibullah: First Post-Geneva Steps"—TASS report]

[Text] Kabul, 15 May—Afghan President Najibullah has held a news conference devoted to the beginning of the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops. [This and following variations are from a similar report carried by Moscow TASS in English at 2140 GMT on 14 May. The TASS report renders the preceding paragraph as follows: "Kabul May 14 TASS—Afghan President Najibullah today gave a press conference devoted to the beginning of the withdrawal of a limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

"He said that the Geneva accords gave the reply to acute problems that for years had seriously aggravated the situation in the world, and opened up real prospects for peace in Afghanistan."]

We have noted on many occasions that international guarantees of non-interference in Afghanistan's affairs would allow the limited contingent of Soviet troops to return home, the president said.

The Geneva accords ensure such guarantees. This is why the Soviet troops are returning home.

The Afghan people will forever keep in their hearts a feeling of gratitude for the Soviet internationalist troops who came to our land as friends to help us uphold Afghanistan's freedom and sovereignty and defend our revolution.

The Geneva accords undoubtedly only make sense if the guarantees of noninterference in Afghanistan's affairs are strictly observed and the mechanism for monitoring the observance of the guarantees operates, Najibullah went on. And here the first steps toward implementing the Geneva accords are already being carried out. A group of UN observers has arrived in Afghanistan and contacts which promise fruitful cooperation have been established with it. [The Moscow TASS report adds the following three paragraphs: "Najibullah said that the Geneva accords ensured favourable opportunities for the return home of Afghan citizens who, owing to various circumstances, had found themselves abroad as refugees.

"The Government of Afghanistan is attaching most serious attention to this problem. A special fund has been alloted in the state budget for the needs of emigrants.

"A series of laws have been passed under which emigrants are given back their property and granted tax privileges. Their civil and political rights are guaranteed, the president said."]

Touching on the policy of national reconciliation, the president described it as a policy of common sense and a manifestation of the new political mentality.

"We have declared for national reconciliation on the basis of compromise and dialogue with all political forces. [The Moscow TASS report adds the following three paragraphs: "'Well-known are our appeals to the leaders of the 'Alliance of Seven', leaders of second echelon formations and exile political quarters, including Zahir Shah,' he said.

"Najibullah emphasised that this policy had yielded tangible results.

"All provincial centres and nearly 10,000 villages are under state control. About 50,000 members of armed formations have taken the side of the government. Last year, 130,000 people returned home."]

One of the most important results of the national reconciliation policy is that the process of forming a new state and political system is proceeding successfully, the president said.

The first session of the National Council (parliament) will open in 10 days.

We know that there are sensible people in the opposition quarters who can understand the misfortunes and aspirations of the Afghan people.

We call on the leaders of opposition formations to come to Kabul and sit down at the negotiating table.

The people of Afghanistan want peace rather than the continuation of endless clashes leading to a senseless loss of life,

All political forces which aspire to leading roles in the country's life should bear this well in mind.

Afghanistan, Najibullah pointed out, is faced with a large number of problems, the main cause of which is the war. It limits the April revolution's potential and shackles our country in the bonds of backwardness and stagnation. The path leading up to 15 May was long and hard. M.S. Gorbachev's 1986 Vladivostok speech helped considerably to explain the principles of a settlement. The 8 February 1988 Statement by the Soviet and Afghan leadership and our meeting with the CPSU Central Committee general secretary in Tashkent, where the well-known Joint Soviet-Afghan Statement on the Political Settlement Surrounding Afghanistan was adopted, provided a crucial impetus exerting a positive influence on the outcome of the Geneva talks.

Many states, politicians, and international organizations have contributed to the political settlement surrounding Afghanistan. On the Afghan people's behalf, we express our cordial thanks to the Soviet leadership, the UN

secretary general and his deputy, Mr Diego Cordovez, the guarantor countries, our partners in the talks, and neighbors, particularly the friendly people of India.

The forces bent on thwarting the Geneva accords are taking a great responsibility upon themselves and a great risk. Those forces are not opposing the government in Kabul. They are seeking to smash the trust and hope of the peoples of the world generated under the influence of Geneva, Najibullah said. [The Moscow TASS report omits the preceding four paragraphs and adds the following two paragraphs: "In July last year, the President continued, we offered the opposition 28 posts of ministers and chairmen of state committees. We made such proposals on more than one occasion, but received flat refusals in reply. A new state system is being currently formed in the country. We continue to keep the doors to the coalition government open. The question of new compromises and political concessions to the armed opposition is also being considered now.

"As of today negotiations have been held with 767 armed opposition groups on the conditions of terminating combat actions and cooperation in the cause of realising the national reconciliation programme. These groups have more than 60,000 people."]

The president said that the government had taken a decision to create a Council of Minister's Office for the North. The office was set up to promptly solve problems connected with the economic and social development of this vital region of the country, which today accounts for nearly half of Afghanistan's entire national product. He refuted rumors alleging that the government itself intended to move to the north and start dividing the country. There is no question of dividing the country, the Afghan leader said. [Moscow TASS in English adds: "The PDPA sees its main role today in uniting all political forces of the country in the name of attaining the great national goal—the restoration of peace and unity in Afghanistan. The party renounced the monopoly on power, managed to rise above the narrow party interests in the name of national interests. But we are convinced that the PDPA will not only preserve but also strengthen its moral and political prestige under the conditions of the coalition government. The party is growing: over the past six months its membership increased by 30,000 members and reached 205,000 people."]

Speaking about the role of the Soviet Union in the economic and social development of Afghanistan, the president stressed that the Soviet Union helped build more than 100 projects, which today account for more than a half of the state budget revenues. Afghan-Soviet relations are based on the 1921 and 1978 treaties. These treaties withstood the test of time and, naturally, will remain in force after the withdrawal of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops. [Moscow TASS in English adds: "The leaders of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan recently reaffirmed on more than one occasion the wish to develop and strengthen relations between the two countries, Najibullah continued. The positions of our countries on this issue were more fully reflected in the Joint Afghan-Soviet Statement passed during the Tashkent meeting, he stressed. The Afghan leader also pointed out the intention to develop cooperation with other socialist countries as well."]

Speaking about the foreign policy of Afghanistan, the president especially noted relations with India. Friendly india, as one of the founding states of the nonaligned movement and a major country of the region, can play an active and effective role in implementing the agreements and developing regional cooperation, he said.

Afghanistan and Pakistan, Najibullah said further, have much in common in terms of history, culture and religion. Both countries take part in the non-aligned movement. After all, our countries are neighbors and we want to have friendly, goodneighborly relations with Pakistan. We are prepared to start discussions with Pakistan on the entire range of problems in our mutual relations.

We are for establishing friendly goodneighborly relations with Iran, as with all other countries. Unfortunately, however, the official circles of Iran have not only failed to support the Geneva agreements, but have even resorted to a number of provocative statements.

Our country gave a positive appraisal to the way the Chinese People's Republic received the peace process at Geneva. But China could play a more active role in the political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, the president said.

Gromov on Withdrawal

LD1405183388 Moscow TASS in English 1821 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 14 TASS—Lieutenant-General Boris Gromov, commander of the Limited Contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, gave a press conference for Afghan and foreign reporters today.

The press conference was opened by Vladimir Sevruk, deputy head of the propaganda department of the CPSU Central Committee.

"The withdrawal of Soviet troops will start on May 15," Gromov said.

"It will be carried out within nine months, that is, it will be completed not later than February 15, 1989. Half of all units of the Limited Contingent will leave Afghan territory in the coming three months.

"The internationalist mission carried out by our soldiers and officers at the Afghan Government's request and under a treaty between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, is drawing to an end.

"This has become possible due to the signing of the Geneva accords.

"The future political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan now depends on how much responsibility, consistency and energy the sides will show in implementing the whole complex of obligations undertaken by them." the commander said.

"Leaving the places of location, we turn over to units of the Afghan Armed Forces not only a zone of responsibility but also encampments with equipment," Gromov said. "Some of the facilities will be put to civilian use as schools, hospitals, kindergartens and departments of culture.

"During our stay in this ancient land we have developed a feeling of sincere sympathy toward Afghan working people. Apart from purely combat tasks, Soviet soldiers-internationalists have carried out a large amount of work to render humanitarian, and gratuitous, aid to the population.

"In 1987 alone, some 100,000 Afghans turned to our medical units for help.

"The beginning of the Soviet troops' withdrawal is taking place on the eve of a Soviet-U.S. summit meeting. This step, we believe, will promote an atmosphere of confidence needed for Soviet-American relations.

"Soviet soldiers are returning home with a feeling of a fulfilled internationalist duty. We'll never forget our comrades-in-arms, those who died the death of a hero, defending peace and the interests of working people and assisting the neighbour in trouble.

"We helped the Afghan Armed Forces conduct combat operations or supported them. We rendered assistance in escorting columns with civilian cargoes, protected communications and villages.

"From the first day of their stay in Afghanistan, Soviet troops had a task of solving issues dealing with a settlement of the situation jointly with the Afghan army and chiefly in a peaceful way," Gromov said.

"Soviet troops are returning home in accordance with a joint decision by the Soviet and Afghan leaderships," the commander of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan said.

"The troop withdrawal is not a defeat, it is the completion of an internatioalist mission, the fulfilment of the Geneva accords.

"None of our units, even the smallest one, have ever retreated. This is why there's no saying about a military defeat.

"The opposition may have some effect on the withdrawal schedule, but not in a measure to frustrate it. We have enough means at our disposal to fulfil the task of returning home," Gromov said.

Answering a question about security of Soviet nationals, he said that the Afghan side guaranteed the security of a small group of Soviet citizens staying in Afghan territory.

"I've no doubt as to the fighting efficiency of the Afghan armed forces," Gromov said.

Gromov on Rebel Attacks

LD1505132588 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 15 May 88

[Excerpt] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan began on 15 May. The first unit of nearly 1,000 men has left Jalalabad.

Our correspondent has interviewed the commander of the Soviet army contingent, General Boris Gromov.

We, the General said, have to take into account the specific conditions of the country, such as, for example, poor communications and the absence of roads other than motor roads.

We also have to consider the possibility of actions from the armed opposition which has rejected the Geneva accords. It may have a certain influence of the procedure on the troops' withdrawal, yet not too serious to interfere with the timetable. They won't be able to do this despite the fresh supplies of anti-tank, jet-guided shells they've recently received from their Western patrons. In the event of attempts to cause a damage to the Soviet troops during their withdrawal, General Gromov said, armed formations of opposition will be rebuffed. [passage omitted]

'Worsening Situation' on Road Home

LD1405130588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0230 GMT 14 May 88

[From the "120 Minutes" program; foreign news presented by Vsevolod Solovyev]

[Text] For the purpose of creating favorable conditions for the return of Afghan refugees to the homeland, the Afghan Government has decided to establish a demilitarized zone along the border. This is yet another step by Kabul toward national reconciliation. However, the counterrevolutionaries inclined to extremism are not giving up attempts to wreck the process of national reconciliation. In the Pakistani town of Rawalpindi, the leader of the seven-party alliance of the Afghan opposition said that his detachments plan major military operations, in particular on 15 May, the day when the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan should commence.

Here is a reportage by Mikhail Leshchinskiy, our Kabul correspondent:

[Leshchinskiy] Tomorrow at precisely 0700 the orders to the vehicles, start and forward, will be heard on the territory of this military detachment. With this the first Soviet mechanized convoy will move north toward our state border. [video shows a row of BTR-60PB armored personnel carriers, soldiers servicing one of them]

It is natural that now, already during the last hours before the departure, a detailed inspection of vehicles, personnel, ammunition, and weapons is under way. [video shows on officer showing a soldier the handling of 7.62 mm SGM machine gun. Camera then shows soldiers inspecting AK-74 assault rifles]

The road which lies ahead is a long and difficult one. Our soldiers have to travel some 600 km from Jalalabad, where we are now, to the Soviet border, while according to reconnaissance data there is a worsening situation on the road along which they will travel. Terrorist bands are gathering near the roads, weapons are being delivered there, and numerous attempts to mine the roads have been noted. And, of course, in such conditions each soldier must be ready at any time to return enemy fire.

We, too, intend to travel along this road with our soldiers and we shall talk about it in our reports. But now, we shall tell our lads: Have a good journey and a joyous meeting with your homeland.

Jalalabad Withdrawal Begins

LD1505043988 Moscow TASS in English 0435 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] Jalalabad (Nangarhar Province) May 15 TASS—The column of a Soviet motorized rifle unit left the city of Jalalabad in a ceremonious atmosphere here today, thereby starting the first phase of a withdrawal of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan. The withdrawal, which is provided for by a decision of the Soviet Government, will be completed before February 15, 1989.

Before the start of the column's movement, a mass meeting of Afghan-Soviet friendship took place in the territory of the garrison. Tens of thousands of residents of the city and Nangarhar Province, the elders of many Pashtun tribes, representatives of the party and state bodies, servicemen of the Afghan Army, and young pioneers came to see the Soviet friends off.

Awards of the friendly republic were presented to Soviet servicemen who successfully accomplished their internationalist duty.

The column is to cover six hundred kilometres on its way home. It will reach Kabul by the evening.

Report on Jalalabad Departure

LD1505122188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] The first of the Soviet troops to be returning home from Afghanistan is a military unit from the province of Nangarhar. Listen to this reportage from Aleksandr Shkirando, our correspondent in Afghanistan, which has just been received from the town of Jalalabad, the provincial center:

[Shkirando] I am presenting this reportage from the military unit which is leaving the border town of Jalalabad today and returning home. Since January 1980, the internationalist servicemen of this unit have been helping the fighting men of Afghanistan's Armed Forces to defend the country's territorial integrity and national sovereignty. The passing years have not been easy for our boys, and the nature of an undeclared war was felt particularly acutely here in the areas bordering Pakistan. Over the years casualties have occurred among friends and comrades.

Now, the Soviet servicemen are returning home with a sense of having performed their internationalist duty. Public representatives of Nangarhar Province, peasants from adjacent hamlets, schoolchildren, and also servicemen from the Afghan division to which the Soviet unit is totally handing over its military camp, have come to see them off. Lieutenant Colonel Manzur, deputy chief of the political section of the division, who also came to see off the Soviet servicemen, said:

[Begin Manzur recording in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] Over the years we have become not only combat comrades but also close friends. Our friendship has grown stronger with every passing year. It is of course sad to realize that we are parting company with our Soviet friends. Nevertheless, we ourselves are retaining the rich combat experience that has been acquired in our joint battles. In seeing off our Soviet friends, who have honorably performed their internationalist duty, we express our sincere gratitude to them and assure them that the Afghan soldiers can now defend the territorial integrity of their country. The good name of the Soviet internationalist servicemen will remain in the memories not only of Afghan servicemen, but also in the memories of the peaceful inhabitants of the province. It is thanks to the assistance of the Soviet servicemen that dozens of bridges, houses, schools, and even a mosque have been restored in Nangarhar. Afghan peasants have been receiving from the hands of Soviet servicemen goods that are greatly needed and prime necessities arriving from the Soviet Union as free aid. We are confident that Afghan-Soviet friendship, which has been tempered in combat, is unbreakable. [end recording]

No Casualties Reported in Pullout

LD1505170388 Moscow TASS in English 1652 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 15 TASS—TASS correspondents G. Bayikov and M. Zakharchuk report:

The first elements of a motorised infantry unit whch left Jalalabad this morning, arrived at 3:30 hours P.M. local time in Kabul today.

Thousands of people of Kabul and nearby villages, soldiers of the Afghan Army and more than 200 representatives of the media from different countries turned out to meet Soviet soldiers-internationalists at remote approaches to the city.

...Pol-e Charkhi District is situated at about 20 kilometres from Kabul. A first armoured vehicle arrives from beyond the hill. The slogans "Long Live Soviet-Afghan Friendship", "Thank You, Soviet Soldiers!" sound from loudspeakers. Children rush to meet the vehicles, whose armour is pelted with flowers. The column has to make an unplanned stop. Taking this opportunity, representatives of television companies, of the biggest news agencies and newspapers get on to the dusty armoured vehicles. Carrying this unusual "landing force", the column continues moving through a corridor formed by crowds lining the road, toward the place where the troops are to stay for the night.

"The march has passed very successfully and in a highly organized way. There have been no casualties", the TASS correspondents were told by holder of the Order of the Red Star, Lieutenent-Colonel O. Krivopalov.

The column of Soviet troops was accompanied by a group of observers from the United Nations.

After a rest, the soldiers will take part in a meeting of Afghan-Soviet friendship tomorrow and will then continue on the way home.

Rebels Fire on Withdrawing Units

LD1505203188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 15 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by M. Leshchinskiy, correspondent in Jalalabad]

[Text] Eight and a half years ago, soldiers in this formation were the first to enter Afghanistan. Today it was again up to them to be first—to be the first to begin the journey home. Everything was festive but strict from morning on. Major General Zakharov, chief of the Political Section of the Soviet military contingent, read the CPSU Central Committee's address to the internationalist soldiers returning from Afghanistan. Subsequently, Afghans made their farewell speeches. And now—the festive farewell march. For the final time, the soliders are marching on Afghanistan's soil, where three fellow members of their regiment became Heroes of the Soviet Union. Three and a half thousand soldiers, sergeants, ensigns, and officers have been awarded USSR state awards. Unfortunately, the list of those who fell here is not short, either.

Quite soon all this will be a memory, combat history. For now, the spanking new uniforms must be taken off, because it will be necessary one more time to get a mouthful of dust from Afghan roads. Thousands of people lined the road along which the column began to move. Flowers, postcards for keepsakes, posters—you could not but think at this moment that all Afghans shared this mood. Unfortunately, however, the journey proved otherwise.

Along the column's route, armed extremist groups three times attempted to shell it with missiles and to open fire at it using small arms. This took place in regions marked as special caution ones on the maps. Toward the evening the column arrived in Kabul, completely covered in dust, and this you can see on my face and on those of our fellow travellers.

Drivers and mechanics naturally had a particularly hard job. The road was among the most difficult—a mountainous serpentine. However, everything was all right. The troops arrived in their full complement, without any losses or damage. A short night rest is now ahead. Tomorrow they will again be on the move, on their way home. [video shows military APC's, pioneers giving flowers to soldiers, Zakharov, Afghan officials marchpast, column moving along road, people standing on both sides of road, words appearing on screen: "The withdrawal of troops will be carried out over a period of 9 months; moreover, half of the contingent will be withdrawn over the first 3 months, that is to say, by 15 August 1988;" column continuing its move along mountainous road; Leshchinskiy atop a vehicle; soldier washing face; soldier smiling]

Arms Moved From Pakistan

LD1505202688 Moscow TASS in English 2020 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] New Delhi May 15 TASS—A correspondent of the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA reports from Islamabad that Pakistani journalists who visited Teri Mangal village bordering on Afghanistan, through which one of the two main routes for the supply of armed units of the Afghan opposition passes, said that 80 trucks with armaments and ammunition on an average approached the border every day over the past month. People in Saidgai village in the North-West Frontier Province, through which the second main route for armaments and ammunition supply passes, witnessed as intensive a movement of trucks with armaments toward the Afghan border, the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA reports.

Helicopter Pilots Return

LD1605101188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Our special correspondent Vladimir Bezayev has just reported from Termez that last night, pilots of the helicopter unit who were stationed in the Jalalabad area

were the first of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan to return home. A column of motorized riflemen is today en route from that town toward the USSR state border.

Their friends and relations are awaiting them impatiently. Canvas townlets have sprung up around Termez ready to accept the internationalist troops.

The helicopter men set off this morning for their new place of service after a traditional welcome with bread and salt, and a short rest.

Crew Commander Interviewed

LD1505001488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 14 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Here to report on other events in international life is Vladimir Molchanov.

[Molchanov] Good evening. I think that the date 15 May will definitely figure at some time in the history books, because it is indisputable that the Geneva agreement, which have paved the way for the return home of our soldiers from Afghanistan, in their significance possibly rank with the treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. It is indisputable that tomorrow will be a happy day for many thousands of our families.

[Begin recording] [M. Leshchinskiy, identified by screen caption] The first thing that we saw at the nighttime air base was combat machines. [video shows various medium close-up shots of stationary MI-24 helicopters] For a moment the helicopters at their parking places had become completely silent, as though bidding farwell to the land that has for a little over 8 years been an airport for them. Red-hot and frequently damaged, they returned here after attacks on weapons caravans, sometimes landing at tiny mountain sites reeking of fire after escorting supply convoys.

Their crews today received their last combat mission in Afghanistan—to leave this place where they have been stationed and set course for the homeland. [video shows various crew members, crew commander Colonel N.I. Churkin]

Comrade commander, these are then, one might say, your final minutes on Afghan soil. It is a joyful time, of course, for you and your comrades, but at the same time I feel both joyful and also somewhat sad, because we have had so many fine friends here among the fliers of your regiment too, and what a large number of exploits have been accomplished on this soil.

[Churkin] You are right. It is both joyous and sad to be saying farewell. Very many fine military deeds have been accomplished on Afghan soil, and we have entered many glorious deeds into the annals of the Armed Forces. I am proud that I have been serving on Afghan soil and that we have been extending internationalist assistance to the country. We are proud of the heroes, who have here received much tempering, and of their courage and heroism, such as Lt Col (Korolyak) in our regiment, (Smelipovich), and Lt Col (Demidovich), the commander of a squadron who has been imparting his combat experience to the younger generation. This will all be of great benefit to them when they arrive in the Soviet Union.

[Leshchinskiy] And, of course, there is the remembrance of those who have died.

[Churkin] Yes, of course, there is also the remembrance of those who died defending the gains of the revolution, such as Flight Commander Captain Gusev and Flight Navigator Lt (Shchipanov). These officers were put forward for two combat awards during their lifetime, and when they died they were put forward posthumously for the Order of Lenin. We shall never forget our combat comrades. We shall always remember them and they will always remain in our hearts.

[Leshchinskiy] Have a good journey! [video shows air crews climbing into cockpits of helicopters] The helicopters go off into the sky one after another. They are setting course for the north and the USSR border. Early tomorrow morning, ground units from this area will also be on the move. [end recording]

Pullout Preparations Reported

LD1305152988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 88 Second Edition p 8

[Report by special correspondents A. Gorokhov and V. Okulov: "Troops Prepared for March"]

[Text] Jalalabad, 12 May—One after the other the helicopters lift off from the airfield under the glimmering canopy of the Afghan night. In the searchlights we see officer Nikolay Ivanovich Churkin, the helicopter commander, donning his helmet as he goes, disappearing into the combat machine: The helicopter crews are being transferred closer to their native soil so that when the signal to return is given it will be speedily obeyed.

...These days, in the runup to May 15 when the first convoy sets off from Jalalabad toward the border, the preparations for the beginning of the Soviet units' return home, preparations unnoticed by some but nonetheless extensive, are developing in Afghanistan. According to the Afghan leadership's decision, a zone free from government troops is being created along the Afghan-Pakistani border: Border guard subunits are being moved into the heart of the country so as not to create tense flashpoints when the large numbers of refugees return.

The Soviet units due to return home in the first 3 months—according to the Geneva accords that means at least half of the Limited Contingent—are handing over their military camps to the Afghan side and preparing for a long and difficult march.

We flew into Jalalabad with Hero of the Soviet Union Lieutenant General B. Gromov, commander of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in the Republic of Afghanistan; Major General A. Zakharov, chief of the political department; and other generals and officers. The final check is being carried out to ensure that everything is ready to begin the troop withdrawal from the first Soviet garrison in Afghanistan earmarked for closure.

We have visited these places a number of times in recent years. We saw how well equipped and well established the camp was and how the dense greenery was bringing welcome shade to this rocky land. The camp grew up on an empty site a few kilometers from Jalalabad but now it has everything—housing, a club, canteens, boilers, and diesel generators [dizelnyye]—this whole complex is being handed over to the Afghan side.

Captain Raz Muhammad, an Afghan army representative, is happy: He is taking over a large economic unit. His Soviet friends have trained 28 Afghan specialists to ensure that it is operated capably.

Our military camps' barracks and housing stock in Nangarhar Province are valued at over R20 million. Throughout Afghanistan houses, hotels, clubs, canteens, hostels, and much other "real estate" worth around R600 million are going to be transferred to our friends.

"We may be leaving but our friendship remains. And everything which the Soviet soldiers built here we are handing over to our Afghan friends," Major General A. Zakharov told us. "This creative function of the Limited Contingent must not be forgotten. We are giving the material and technical infrastructure created here to the Afghans as comrades: Not simply in the form of documents and inventories but according to the laws of friendship."

...Under the roof of the field bakery we saw Afghans in white overalls working alongside Soviet army bakers in the cramped conditions of the red-hot ovens, the mixing vats, and the metal baking trays.

The concern these days is not only for bread, of course. The main concern for everyone—from the commander down to the ordinary soldier—is to ensure that the planned withdrawal of the convoys takes place without hitches or loss of life. That is no simple matter. The extremists would like to portray the Soviet units' return home as a headlong flight to escape from their assaults. The facts, however, are quite different.

"The preparation for the beginning of the troop withdrawal," Lieutenant General B. Gromov told us, "is complete. Here I am thinking of the garrisons which our troops will evacuate first under the timetable that has been announced. Together with our Afghan comrades, we have reconnoitred the routes that we will be taking. Once again we have gone into the details: the characteristics of each section, what guard posts there are, and so on. You are right—the 'implacable' detachments of the armed opposition working on the orders of the extremist ringleaders in Peshawar would like to make our troops' withdrawal as difficult as possible. But they will not succeed! The first units are leaving but their main work—combat work—is being continued by the troops so long as they are still here. I must repeat that we do not intend opening fire first...."

We saw the officers of the departing subunits holding their route maps, work charts, as they say here, covered with various notes. Indeed, a fact which need not be hidden is that there are danger areas on the withdrawal route. We saw unconcealed joy on the faces of our officers and men and satisfaction at a duty honorably performed. But we noticed no bravado, complacency, or slackening of combat mood. Two reconnaissance scouts, Private Sergey Guzarevich from Belorussia and Private Aleksey Shaforostov from Krasnodar Kray, asked us to mention that, too.

...The troops are ready to leave. On the morning of 15 May the invisible spring compressing the hours and minutes remaining before the march will be released, setting the men and equipment in motion.

Evening is drawing on. From time to time the thunder of distant gunfire can be heard.

Commentary on Withdrawal

PM1605105488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 May 88 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Special correspondents A. Gorokhov, V. Okulov report: "Going Home: PRAVDA's Special Correspondents Report From Afghanistan: The First Column of Soviet Internationalist Fighters Is on the Way Home"]

[Excerpts] Jalalabad, Kabul, 15 May—We have been waiting for this hour for a long time. We have approached it with difficulty and over a long time. Virtually from the first days when, after numerous appeals from the Afghan Government for help, Soviet troops came to the defense of their southern neighbor. And in those distant days thousands of mothers and fathers, accepting the decision of the country's leadership trustingly, hoped that peace would soon come to Afghanistan.

But life imperiously sweeps aside the sincerest desires and confuses the most logical plans. How long our internationalist servicemen had to oppose the imperialist interference in Afghanistan's affairs, interference that

was stepped up year after year, and together with the republic's government troops to rebuff attempts from outside to impose a different path of development on it by force.

One thing is clear: Our sons did their duty. A barrier was set up against the armed aggression. But it also became clear that peace cannot be achieved in Afghanistan by military means. It was not only we and our Afghan friends who reached that conclusion, setting an example in the new political thinking. The other side undoubtedly came to understand it too. Otherwise there would have been no Geneva accords.

We never aspired to military victory in Afghanistan. Our aim there was always the desire for peace, tranquillity, and cooperation. Under the protection of the internationalist servicemen the April Revolution survived and gained viability. An international treaty basis was set up for ending interference in Afghan affairs. As for defeats and victories, there has been a victory—it is the result of tremendous efforts by the Soviet leadership, supported by the people. The return of our sons is a victory for our restructuring.

....We thought about all this as we looked at the faces of the soldiers formed up on the parade ground of the Jalalabad barracks. The sun shines out of the endless blue, blinding your eyes with the glint from orders and medals on the uniforms of the soldiers and commanding officers. The farewell meeting is ending. Garrison chief Colonel V. Avlasenko has already made his report to a representative of the command. Speeches are delivered by S. Muhmand, secretary of Nangarhar Province PDPA Committee, and General N. Ahmad, commander of an Afghan infantry division. Scout V. Didolko and driver and mechanic N. Ladzinsh, winners of "For Valor" medals, speak words that come from the heart.

The heartrending strains of "The Slav Girl's Farewell" are heard on the parade ground, from the edge of which people wave to our servicemen—gray-bearded elders who have come from Jalalabad and the nearby villages, women in national costume, Afghan servicemen, pioneers.

The defenders, brothers, comrades-in-arms are departing. The first column of the unit is departing. If all the weapons seized by the unit's servicemen on the caravan routes from Pakistan in a hundred combat sorties were loaded onto trucks, we are sure there would not be enough transport here. Among the trophies are dozens of Stingers and Blowpipes, hundreds of rocket shells and launchers, and a great deal of evil of all kinds—firearms and explosives.

Three of the unit's servicemen became Heroes of the Soviet Union: Sergeant Yu. Mirolyubov (he is now at home, working as a driver), Lieutenant N. Kuznetsov (posthumously), and Colonel (now General) V. Kolesnik. Many servicemen laid down their lives on Afghan soil. If we could name them all individually, speak about every one....

Senior Sergeant V. Kovalenko. Wounded, he was lying in the shelter when he saw rebels approaching from the flank. The commanding officer was fighting nearby. And when Kovalenko saw a rebel aiming at the officer, he hoisted himself up and, flinging himself on the commander, covered him and took the fire himself.

The fighters of Junior Sergeant Yu. Gavrash's section were ambushed. They had fired all their ammunition, they scrawled on the adobe wall of the house that had become their last stronghold: "We die as heroes." And so as not to fall into agonizing captivity, they exploded their last grenade.

They should all be mentioned by name, every one of them....

"Write: We thank the Soviet mothers whose sons defended us"—that is what we were told by the chairman of the provincial women's council, the little dark-haired Nahid. [passage omitted]

The road from Jalalabad leads an endless line of armored carriers and military trucks to the Afghan capital, following the twisty course of the Kabul River. We know that in the high ground along the road, there are posts covering us, and a guard of Soviet and Afghan Government troops has been set up. By evening, according to the schedule, the column reaches the suburbs of Kabul. Tomorrow there is the sendoff ceremony in the capital, and then home, via Salang.

But for the moment, as we move along in the armored vehicles, let us add a few more lines to our reportage.

As we see the boys off from Afghanistan, accompany them on the road, and meet them on our southern border, let us bear in mind that the withdrawal of the first units is only the start of our servicemen's return to the motherland. That some of the Soviet troops, according to the Geneva accords, will remain on Afghan soil. Because there is no holding those who scorn their own people's desire for peace.

We wish combat success to the internationalist servicemen remaining in Afghanistan for the time being. We wish their mothers and fathers patience, courage, and hope.

And once again we say of our servicemen: These guys have done everything that the country entrusted to them.

Internationalism is within the power only of patriots. Should we not be proud: We have raised such sons!

Let the cities and villages on whose behalf the soldiers fought in the distant Afghan land receive them as their own defenders returning from the war. The soldiers fought honorably. They are returning home with honor. Your sons, motherland.

Western Media 'Heighten Tensions'

LD1605120988 Moscow TASS in English 1201 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

Soviet troops in Afghanistan have begun their long-awaited journey home.

The French TV network Antenne-2 described the event as truly historic. This, I think, is no exaggeration.

The world can see how Moscow and Kabul, fulfilling the Geneva arrangements to the point, take a real and long stride to defusing one of the most protracted and painful regional conflicts on the globe.

The Soviet troops have come to Afghanistan at the request of its lawful government with honest and noble aims and are leaving that country after discharging their military duty.

This is why, as the British MORNING STAR noted today, Afghans are seeing them off with smiles and flowers.

The Afghan people will forever remain grateful to the Soviet internationalist troops who have come to their country as friends to help them uphold their freedom and independence, President Najibullah of Afghanistan said at a news conference in Kabul.

The absurdity of claims making rounds in the West about "Moscow's expansionist plans" is now particularly obvious.

The Soviet troop withdrawal, said the French newspaper L'HUMANITE, give the lie to assertions by the United States and its clients that the Soviet Union, when helping Afghanistan, has been secretly after the goal of getting closer to warmer seas.

The Japanese daily TOKYO SHIMBUN pointed out that the Soviet troops' presence in Afghanistan has given the West an excellent pretext for attacks on Moscow, but now this pretext does no longer exist.

The Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan has begun at a time when Kabul's policy of national reconciliation is yielding ever more tangible results.

All the provincial centers and nearly 10,000 villages are under government control. Some 50,000 member of armed groups have gone over to the side of the government.

Kabul is holding talks on terms for an end to hostilities with 767 armed opposition groups numbering more than 60,000 men.

Having set the stage for nationwide dialogue, the reconciliation policy has opened prospects for forming a coalition government with the participation of all the forces in Afghan society, including those still opposing one another.

In these conditions the termination of outside interference in the Afghans' internal affairs is the pivotal issue of an Afghanistan settlement.

It is important to stress this not only because Pakistani-based "intransigent" gangs are continuing threats against the Afghan government and exploding truck bombs in Kabul in acts of terrorism killing innocent people.

It is important to stress this first of all because event today the "intransigent" rely on the support of their outside patrons who seem to be in no mood to abandon the dangerous dogmas of "neoglobalism". [sentence as received]

How does, for example, the fact that, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES, U.S. Under Secretary of State Michael Armacost has sent a special emissary to Pakistan to assure the Afghan armed opposition of Washington's continued support for it square with the spirit and letter of the Geneva agreements?

A very sordid role is being performed today also by some Western bourgeois newspapers and magazines that keep cooking anti-Soviet and anti-Afghan allegations and, by glorifying the "exploits" of the "intransigent" and effectively exonerating their acts of terrorism, are instigating them to continue shedding blood and attempting to heighten tensions and complicate the internal settlement.

The commitments made in the Geneva package are clearly formulated and unambiguous: interference in Afghan affairs must be stopped.

Any departures from the Geneva agreements can only harm the cause of an Afghanistan settlement and bring a stigma on the moral prestige of nations violating these commitments made in front of the whole world. This oughtn't be forgotten either in Washington or in Islamabad.

As far as the position of Moscow and Islamabad is concerned, it remains unchanged: Difficult as the path to an enduring peace in Afghanistan is, it will be covered.

In Moscow we hope and believe that the first rupture in the chain of regional conflicts will be followed by further steps to put out fires burning in the Middle East, Central America, southern Africa and elsewhere in the world.

11 Killed by Truck-Bomb in Kabul 14 May

LD1405094388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0935 GMT 14 May 88

[text] Kabul, 14 May (TASS)—Extremists belonging to Afghan anti-government formations have committed a new crime. At 0540 a truck packed with explosives was blown up in a street in central Kabul. According to initial reports, 11 people were killed and 13 injured.

Iran, Afghan Rebels Hindering Refugees' Return

LD1605100888 Moscow TASS in English 0947 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 16 TASS—The Iranian authorities hinder Afghan refugees from returning home. With this aim in view armed pickets are posted on the Iranian-Afghan border. Apart from "Guards of the Islamic Revolution", the pickets also include members of Afghan opposition extremist groups, Gulam Kadyr, a peasant, who has spent seven years in foreign lands together with his family, has said in an interview with the BAKHTAR news agency.

"My compatriots in Iran, he pointed out, "fully support the Geneva agreements. Most of them strive to return to their homes".

BAKHTAR reported that, at the request of the population of Jaji district of Paktia Province, Afghan army units routed an extremist group. Mortars, anti-aircraft mounts, and machine-guns were captured during the operation.

Personnel of Kabul's security bodies with active assistance of population rendered harmless and explosive device planted in one of the residential blocks of the Afghan capital.

A special revolutionary court has found a certain Abdul Bashir guilty of organising an explosion in the building of the education ministry in March this year. Under the provisions of the law on crimes against internal security of the state, he was sentenced to death.

Afghan social and political organisations condemn terrorist acts committed by bandits. Statements in protest against the criminal activities of extremists have been issued by the Central Committee of the Democratic Youth Organisation of Afghanistan, the Central Council of Afghan Trade Unions, and the Writers' Union of Afghanistan.

Missile firing and explosions, which resulted in loss of life, have shown the moral powerlessness of the opposition and its uncertainty about the future, the protest statements emphasize.

Pakistan's Noorani Arrives in Moscow 15 May

LD1505132888 Moscow TASS in English 1320 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS—Pakistani Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Zain Noorani has arrived in Moscow today as guest of the Soviet Government.

Received by Tolkunov

LD1605134888 Moscow TASS in English 1156 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—Today Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, had a meeting with Zain Noorani, Pakistani minister of state for foreign affairs, and a group of members of Pakistani parliament who accompany him.

The guests are currently in the Soviet Union in connection with the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Pakistan.

During the meeting the two sides discussed a wide range of matters concerning the international situation, the problems of strengthening universal peace as well as peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region. They also considered possibilities for further development of bilateral relations, including Soviet-Pakistani interparliamentary contacts.

The Soviet side pointed out particular importance of strict fulfilment of obligations under the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan by all the signatory states. It was emphasized within this context that a withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan began on May 15 in accordance with the Geneva agreements.

The leader of the Pakistani delegation spoke highly of the Soviet initiatives aimed at preserving and strengthening universal peace, at ending the arms race, and at developing wide international cooperation.

India Fears Pakistani 'Military Provocations'

LD1605080688 Moscow TASS in English 0717 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] New Delhi May 16 TASS—Additional units of the Pakistani Army have been stationed in Gurez sector as well as in other areas on the border with India. A build-up of artillery, tanks and other military hardware is being continued in those areas, the UNI NEWS AGENCY reports.

The Indian military command points out the possibility of new military provocations on the part of Pakistan in view of its preparation for armed actions to seize high-mountain glacier Seachen which is of strategic importance to India's security.

Vorontsov Receives Iranian Ambassador

LD1605125488 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov today received Naser Heirani-Nobari, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the USSR, at the latter's request.

During their meeting they discussed some issues related to Soviet-Iranian relations.

East Europe

Further on Gromyko, Ceausescu Bucharest Meetings

Gromyko News Conference

PM1605110988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Bucharest News Conference"]

[Text] Bucharest, 14 May—A news conference was held here today by A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet chairman.

He said in his introductory address:

Esteemed comrades, gentlemen: Our visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania is drawing to an end and I would like to share with you some impressions about the meetings and discussions which took place. There were a lot of them and they were notable for the friendly nature of the exchange of views.

Particularly thorough discussions were held with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Also this time they provided an opportunity to look at the state of Soviet-Romanian relations with the aim of fuller utilization of existing reserves and also to exchange views on some international problems.

At a time of advancing development of cooperation between our countries we adhere to the view that a lot more can be done today. As is well known, during Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Romania last year agreements in principle were reached aimed at utilizing the sound potential the two countries have for the development of our ties. The exchange of views which took place has reaffirmed the desire of the two countries to persistently strive, through joint efforts, to bring Soviet-Romanian cooperation onto a new level.

Nowadays both the Soviet Union and Romania face large scale tasks of socioeconomic development. The preparation for the 19th all-union party conference is today in full swing in our country. This important forum of the Soviet Communists must be a major landmark in the social and political life of the Soviet Union after the 27th party congress. An appraisal will be given of that stage of restructuring which has elapsed, of the experiences arising. The further tasks ensuing from the work done so far is to be interpreted on a new political and theoretical level. The most important thing expected from the conference by the Soviet people is a new powerful impetus to the process of democratization of our society, to the entire far-reaching work on restructuring, which is confidently gathering and spreading deep down into the life of the country.

What is taking place in the Soviet Union must not, of course be examined in isolation from socialist construction in the fraternal countries, from the cooperation with them which is based on complete equality and on mutually taking interests and of needs into account.

Here, of course, the question arises of how to find more improved and effective forms of cooperation in the economic, social, and in other spheres, to meet the contemporary stage in the development of socialism. This fully concerns Soviet-Romanian relations as well.

During the meetings and conversations, above all in Bucharest, we have been convinced of the interest that our Romanian friends show toward our country and to the major changes which are taking place in the Soviet Union. I can say in all certainty that Soviet people also show great interest in the life of Romania.

We would like—and this has been said during the visit—the ties between our countries and specific communication between people to become broader and more diverse. You know that documents have been signed on cooperation between writers of the two countries and also in the area of cinema and sport. This is a fine addition to the large number of bilateral agreements which meet the requirements of the steady expansion of Soviet-Romanian relations in various areas.

We also see existing reserves. One of them, in our view, is the active participation of bodies of people's power, from the top bodies—the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania—to the local soviets in our country and the people's councils in Romania, in resolving specific issues of cooperation. This was discussed during our meetings in the Grand National Assembly of Romania.

Only a few days ago we marked the 43d anniversary of the victory over fascism. Back in the spring of 1945, people dreamed that the horrors of war would never be repeated on earth. This noble mission is clearly expressed in the United Nations Charter by its founders.

Loyal to the memory of those killed during the war, we, the countries of socialism, today continue to strive to do everything to ensure that the world becomes truly stable and safe.

The signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, has allowed the door to be slightly opened toward a nonnuclear future, and the first step to be made toward the destruction of nuclear arsenals. On the agenda now are the talks being conducted between the Soviet Union and the United States regarding an agreement on the reduction by half of their strategic offensive weapons, while observing the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972, and not departing from it during the agreed period.

This is also one of the central themes of the Soviet-U.S. summit talks, which are to be held in Moscow at the end of May. We are devoting great attention to this summit meeting and are preparing ourselves for it. But, as you understand, a great deal will also depend on the approach which will be adopted by the other side, by the United States.

Among the key problems of disarmament awaiting the soonest possible resolution are such issues as a complete and universal ban on nuclear weapons test and the conclusion of an all-embracing convention on the complete banning and elimination of chemical armaments and the substantial reduction of armed forces in Europe.

In the May chronicle of international life the forthcoming Third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament is to become a notable event. It is important that it should end with specific weighty results, meeting the aspirations of the peoples who demand that the burden of armaments should be eased.

In the course of the talks we noted the coincidence of the approaches of our countries toward resolving urgent questions of disarmament. The Soviet Union and Romania are united in their striving to try to achieve progress toward a nuclear-free and nonviolent world, overcome the resistance of those who don't see a future without massive piles of weapons, without diktat in international relations.

We proceed from the need for the further development of the European process with all of its main aspects—disarmament economic, scientific and technical and humanitarian—inextricably linked.

In our view, the work of the Vienna meeting should be more active and productive to agree on a platform for future talks on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe. The principled approach of the socialist countries is expressed in the appeal adopted at the conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Budapest.

The USSR regards with understanding the striving of the Balkan states to strengthen and develop regional cooperation in the interests of the whole world so that the process of strengthening security, trust, and the atmosphere of mutual understanding and goodneighborliness should proceed in the Balkans too.

This was promoted by the recent meeting of foreign ministers of the six Balkan states in Belgrade. We once again state our support for the initiatives put forward by Romania and Bulgaria to create in the Balkans a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons as we regard the implementation of these initiatives as a worthy contribution to the strengthening of European peace.

This spring promises to bring peace to the land of Afghanistan. The strict fulfillment of their obligations by all the participants in the Geneva agreements should become a firm foundation for national reconciliation in Afghanistan.

In a short speech I, of course, have touched upon far from the whole range of questions which were discussed during the talks which have taken place. The USSR and Romania have a rich experience of participation in international affairs and of cooperation both on a bilateral basis and within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and the CEMA. Both sides expressed the desire to develop this cooperation in the interests of our countries and the cause of peace and socialism.

A.A. Gromyko replied to questions from journalists.

Further on News Conference

PM1605114088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: Bucharest News Conference]

[Text] Bucharest, 15 May—A news conference was given yesterday by A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

After his introductory speech, A.A. Gromyko answered journalists' questions.

Question (Soviet television): Andrey Andreyevich, you spoke for the reserves for cooperation. In concrete terms, how do the paths for widening ties between our countries look?

A.A. Gromyko: We examined this question in quite a broad way. I would say with the stress on economic cooperation. Both sides agreed that although cooperation is many sided—and that really is the case, insofar as there are dozens of various agreements—nevertheless not all opportunities are being used. We won't weigh them minutely to discover how much goes to which side.

We agreed in principle that there are possibilities for widening and deepening this cooperation. I would say that for completely understandable reasons Romania has an interest in this, and the Soviet Union has an interest in this too. This means we have a mutual interest.

The same could be said of other areas, with the sole difference that in some of them things are going more or less satisfactorily. There are links between parliaments, in the field of culture. But there are also large reserves.

The two sides expressed their ideas quite definitely. As for economic relations, they agreed that on questions that have yet to be resolved, the representatives of the two countries should waste no time, should examine them, and as such problems come to maturity should arrive at agreed decisions.

The method of "all or nothing" is also not suitable for economic decisions, or for others. In a word, if things go in the direction in which our exchange of opinions took place, we can look to the future with optimism.

Question (ROMANIA LIBERA, Bucharest): During your conversations with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu you discussed basic international problems. In this context we should like to ask you to evaluate the contribution made by Romania, the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the European countries to implementing the policy of cooperation, disarmament, and mutual understanding and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

A.A. Gromyko: Each country, and you spoke of all the European countries, is making its contribution to the implementation of this policy. For all the European countries discuss these questions, both during bilateral meetings and at wider forums, both European and worldwide.

But I want to stress that it is nevertheless the socialist states which adopt the most consistent positions in questions of preserving peace and removing the threat of war. They are firmly convinced that there has been enough of war, and mankind must mobilize all its capabilities to remove the threat of nuclear war.

We should like the states with another social system, with whom we have to discuss these questions, to take up such a consistent and firm position. This idea has been stressed more than once by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary at meetings at the highest level with leaders of the West European states.

I do not think this audience expects me to weigh on some scales or other means the responsibility of each European state.

I will put it in a simpler way. We are calling on all states, both European and non-European, to mobilize all their possibilities for seeking agreements. Specifically on the issue of reducing conventional arms. What can one say about the talks on this subject that are underway? They are going in a sluggish manner, and there is shortage of vigor in the course of these talks.

But the talks are being conducted by people, and the political figures of states determine positions at the talks. Therefore we are calling on the figures who determine policy in Great Britain, France, the FRG, Italy, and other West European states, and in states with different social systems in general, to add vigor in search for agreements. Owing to obvious reasons we also invite U.S. figures to promote the conclusion of such agreements.

You will not find another country in the world which strives for reducing conventional arms as much as the Soviet Union. This is our line, and this is Romania's line, too. As a matter of fact, this is the line of all the fraternal countries of socialism.

Question (SCINTEIA, Bucharest): What is your attitude to Romania's proposal to reduce armed forces by 5 percent? What do you think of unilateral initiatives of this kind?

A.A. Gromyko: We would like to cut conventional weapons. But we must also look at what is being done all around, both in Europe and in the world. Our country, as you know, is situated in Europe and in Asia. This is what history decided. We have the right to a decision on the cutting of troops. The second question: Are all the European countries ready for this today, or not? I should not like to touch on unilateral Romanian steps here.

The policy of the Soviet Union has been set out sufficiently fully in the documents of the organization of the Warsaw Pact. This policy is well known, both to the Romanian leadership and to the leaderships of other socialist countries. These steps are acceptable if they do not affect the interests of the security of other states. But if such steps strike a blow at security, then of course it is right that they should be thought about seriously beforehand as to whether they should be adopted.

I repeat, it is Romania's business to make decisions affecting Romania. It is the business of other states, including the socialist states, to make decisions which affect their armed forces, taking into account the general interests of security.

Question (ELIMA newspaper, Kinshasa, Zaire): The latest CPSU Central Committee plenums have sketched out a number of reforms determining the restructuring so much needed by the Soviet Union. At what stage is restructuring now?

A.A. Gromyko: At a stage that is historic in its importance. No one can deny that great deeds are now being implemented in the Soviet Union. But to assign a certain period to restructuring—from and till—is something we

shall not do. The people present here—experienced and qualified as they are—have certainly noticed that it is not said in any of the decisions—neither the party nor the state decisions—that the period of restructuring begins from such and such a date, and must finish at such and such a date. It would be a mistake, and not a statesmanlike thing to arrange in such a way. Too important a matter is now being implemented in the Soviet Union. Restructuring means grandiose reform in the fields of the economy, the social sphere, and culture, and, as has been rightly said, in the thinking itself of man, that is, in the life of people. It requires time, as do all large-scale events which develop and take place.

Therefore, in this case one cannot embark on some formal path or determine some particular time limits—from this until that. However, I wish that everyone present in his hall should understand clearly that our ruling Communist Party has started restructuring with the purpose of completing and implementing it. The line of the Party and the State is imbued with optimism. Our people are confident that restructuring will be implemented, and the sooner the better.

Yet this is a process. This is not merely a program beginning with the letter "A" and finishing with the last letter of the alphabet. I do not name it intentionally because the last letter is different in different alphabets. The party and the people are confident that the grandiose plans for restructuring will not only be fulfilled, but that they will be fulfilled at the due level.

The development and deepening of socialist democracy and the inclusion of millions and millions of people in this matter are an integral part of our plans. You have noticed that in many aspects we are going back to the times of Lenin, who, in those years which were hard for the country, called on the Party and the State leadership to listen to the people's voice—that of workers and peasants. We are daily recruiting this force more and more to carry out our grandiose plans of restructuring.

Question (Romanian television): What are the prospects for achieving an understanding between the USSR and United States on ending nuclear tests?

A.A. Gromyko: I would answer that question like this: The prospects are better today than yesterday, although there are no agreements yet. For a very long time the main obstacle was the question of monitoring [kontrol] the complete ending of nuclear tests. There were many statements from representatvies of western states, particularly U.S. ones, and quite a lot of far-fetched happenings.

When I say that the prospects are now somewhat better, I mean that a very broad system of monitoring [kontrol] has been agreed.

It is true that the following things happen. Let's say, such and such a problem is agreed upon today. A few days or weeks go by, and several more questions are added connected to monitoring [kontrol] which didn't come up before. We agree to look at them. Some time goes by, and new ones are raised. This process, which is a lengthy one anyway, has still not been completed. More and more new questions are raised.

But I want to repeat what I said at the beginning of my answer to your question. The prospects are better today. And I will end my answer to this question by saying that the Soviet Union didn't make obstacles on the problem of monitoring [kontrol] before, and is not doing so now, and furthermore is not intended to do so in the future. The problem of monitoring [kontrol] is not the decisive one in the overall problem of ending nuclear tests. People who inflate it are not objective enough.

If I was facing not this collective audience but a narrow circle of people, I would say that there is not enough openness [otkrytost] and honesty in this matter. If we have agreed that effective means of monitoring [kontrol] have been agreed upon, all that remains is to name the date from which 100 percent, complete ending of nuclear weapons testing, is to begin. We are waiting with impatience an accord on this date. The Soviet Union is not afraid of monitoring [kontrol].

Question (IZVESTIYA, USSR): Andrey Andreyevich, I should like to ask you as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, a question on the development of parliamentary links. What new things has your current visit brought to these relations? You spoke about deepening contacts between soviets at different levels. I should like to hear about this in more detail.

A.A. Gromyko: This question was discussed during an exchange of opinions in Bucharest. Exchanges of delegations and representatives take place between our countries at the parliamentary level. Both sides agreed that this could be improved upon, that is, by exchanging such delegations more frequently, and giving greater content to all work on this level.

We will take pleasure in looking closely at and listening to Romanian experiences. But we hope that our Romanian comrades will also take our experience into account. We attribute great importance to these trends within the framework of developing relations between Romania and the Soviet Union.

It is perfectly possible to set up contacts between the corresponding soviets at republican and oblast level—we have our structure of soviets and Romania has its. All forms for such exchanges can be used. We are all in favor of this.

Question (AFP, France): Mr Chairman, you stressed the notion that prospects for stopping nuclear tests have improved. We know that at one time the Soviet Union

unilaterally suspended nuclear weapons tests. If it was possible to do this then, do you think that there is any chance of such unilateral measures in future?

A.A. Gromyko: At one time we did unilaterally stop testing our nuclear weapons, not because this did not damage the security interests of the Soviet Union. We understood clearly that this did cause certain damage. But nonetheless we made this decision in the hope that other nuclear powers would also take a similar step. But alas, that did not happen. They took no such step. And so we were obliged to renew nuclear testing. All this was done in conditions when other nuclear powers refused to follow our example.

A question (AKAHATA newspaper, Tokyo, Japan) involved a request to explain the Soviet Union's position in connection with the situation in and around Afghanistan.

A.A. Gromyko: Detailed discussion of this question today would be unjustified for the moment in view of the present situation.

We profoundly hope that the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan will be implemented. The first to gain from this will be Afghanistan itself, its people, and, in our opinion, the world as a whole. No country would suffer damage as a result of the implementation of the Geneva agreements. And any country or group of countries directly or indirectly creating obstacles to the resolving of the Afghan question on the basis of these agreements would be assuming a great responsibility. We hope that will not happen.

For its part the Soviet Union will do everything possible to promote the full implementation of the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan on the basis of the Geneva agreements.

Question (Italian press agency): Mr Chairman, you said that during your talks with President N. Ceausescu, questions of economic cooperation between Romania and the Soviet Union were touched upon. Did the sides reach any concrete accords on setting up mixed enterprises, and if so, in what areas?

A.A. Gromyko: I will not name specific sites. That would require prolonged discussion. But I will say in principle: Both countries have stressed and continue to stress the significance of this task—setting up joint enterprises.

On behalf of the Soviet Union I can say that we attach great significance to economic cooperation. I expressed similar notions to Comrade Ceausescu. This was constantly stressed during the conversations which took place.

So, in asking this question you have got right to the heart of the matter. Of course this is an important question.

At the same time it is well known that we are ready to develop such forms of cooperation as joint enterprises with other countries, too, not just socialist countries, but with states with another social system. That is well known.

I thank all of those present for their attention. My best wishes to you all.

Visit Communique

PM1605121988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 May 1988 Second Edition p 5

["Joint Communique on the Official Friendly Visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania by Comrade Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman" signed 13 May in Bucharest]

[Text] Comrade Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman paid an official friendly visit to Romania over 10-14 May 1988 at the invitation of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Romanian Communist Party general secretary, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Comrade Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet chairman awarded the Order of Lenin to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, Socialist Republic of Romania president, on his 70th birthday for his contribution to the development of the fraternal friendship and cooperation between the Romanian people and the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Comrade A. A. Gromyko and the accompanying party visited the Bucharest machine tool building enterprise and the "1 Mai" oilfield equipment enterprise in the city of Ploiesti and saw places of social and cultural interest in the capital. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman laid wreaths at the Memorial to the Heroes of the Fight for the Liberty of the People and the Homeland, for Socialism, and at the monument to the Soviet troops who fell in battles for the liberation of Romania from fascism. A wreath was laid at the V. I. Lenin monument.

Talks were held between Comrade A. A. Gromyko and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu during which information was exchanged on current problems of socialist construction in Romania and the Soviet Union, and they discussed the state and an analysis was made of the state and prospects of the Romanian-Soviet friendly and good neighborly ties as well as of the chief aspects of the international situation.

The talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade A.A. Gromyko, the atmosphere of which was friendly and of mutual understanding, went down as

another contribution to the strengthening of the Romanian-Soviet relations, emphasized the common willingness to develop them also in future in the spirit of the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration, and Mutual Assistance between Soviet Union and Romania, on the basis of the teachings of socialism and communism, fully equal rights, respect for national sovereignty and independence, territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, international solidarity, responsibility to one's own people and for the general interests of socialism and peace.

A.A. Gromyko outlined the course of restructuring in the USSR and of the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums aimed at accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, revealing more fully the potential and advantages of the socialist system, and the enhancement of the human factor. He referred at length to the preparations underway for the 19th all-union party conference. It was pointed that, within the restructuring process, which is a revolutionary change for the future, and at the same time, a return to intrinsic values, in keeping with the Leninist outlook on socialism, the tasks concerning the achievement of a radical reform, the manysided development of the social area, and the in-depth democratization of the social life as a whole were consistently fulfilled. The expansion of the rights of enterprises and working collectivities, the development of glasnost the overcoming of bureaucratic distortions and of the methods of management relying on administrative control are intended to allow each Soviet individual to feel a full master of his country and to benefit from every condition for assertion and initiative. Emphasis was placed on the important role of the Soviets of deputies in implementing the party strategic line, in improving the political system of society, in ensuring an efficient management of the economy on a central and local plane.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu outlined the deep revolutionary changes made by the Romanian people under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party in the nearly 4 and 1/2 decades of construction of the new socialist system, especially since the ninth party congress, through the creative application of the general truths and laws of scientific socialism to Romania's specific conditions. In this context, stress was laid on the considerable achievements in the development of the technical-material base of society and production modernization, on the experience gained from the application of the new economic-financial mechanism, on the achievement of the principles of self-management and financial self-administration, on the successes in the growth of agriculture in the conditions when a new agrarian revolution is under way.

Furthermore, emphasis was placed on the measures that were set to continuingly strengthen the socialist property—state and cooperative—to improve the administration of social life on the basis of a single, national plan,to meet the demands of today's revolution in science and technology, on the broad revolutionary worker democracy system and its organized setting that developed in more than two decades and that gives all working people a direct part in the management of society, that provides for the building of socialist system with the people for the people.

During the talks, satisfaction was expressed at the continuous expansion of the links of friendship and collaboration between the two countries.

The deciding importance was underscored by the meetings and talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Mikhail S. Gorbachev for the activation of a productive cooperation between the two parties and countries in all fields. The determination was reiterated to further work for the implementation of the understandings reached at top levels.

Stress was laid on the importance of fulfilling the provisions under the Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic, Technical, and Scientific Cooperation Between Romania and the Soviet Union Until the Year 2000. Joint willingness was expressed to identify new possibilities to further expand that mutually advantageous collaboration, to supply the two countries' economies with the necessary resources, to contribute to the expansion and deepening of cooperation in and specialization of production, to the establishment of direct links between enterprises, to the creation of joint production and research companies in various areas of mutual interest.

Emphasis was also placed on the great significance of a growing collaboration in science, with a view to ensuring the stepped-up, broad-scale application of the latest gains of technological progress to the two countries' economies.

The importance was reasserted of implementing the complex program for the technical and scientific progress of the CMEA member countries until the year 2000, of boosting the efficiency of collaboration among those countries, among all socialist countries, which is intended to serve the assertion of new type of economic relations and fully meet the interests of those countries, of socialism as a whole.

The mutual wish was expressed to develop and expand collaboration in culture, science, and education on the line of friendship associations, of trade union, youth and women's organizations, of other public organizations, of sports and tourism, to employ various forms providing for better knowledge of the two peoples' spiritual assets, to activate the links between counties and towns in the Socialist Republic of Romania and regions and towns in the USSR, between border areas, between working collectivities. The determination was expressed to further develop useful contacts and swaps of experience between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Grand National

Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania, between the standing commissions and groups of deputies of the two supreme legislative bodies on the major lines of parliamentary and state activity and of the development of socialist democracy, to boost the efficiency of those links. The importance was emphasized of improving the collaboration between the parliaments of the socialist countries, of intensifying their cooperation within the Interparliamentary Union.

Opinions were exchanged on major international questions and the international situation was shown to continue to be rather complex and contradictory. At the same time, positive trends have emerged in the world arena. The tasks concerning the further development and consolidation of those trends call for a new way of thinking on and a responsible approach to the problems related to peace and war, in the interest of international security, of the peoples' right to life and peace, to a free, independent, and dignified existence.

By mutual agreement it was considered that the fundamental problems of the contemporary age were the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of a resolute passage to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament in the first place. In that context, it was pointed out that the signing of the treaty between the USSR and the U.S. on the liquidation of their intermediate- and shorter-range missiles had been an event of historic importance, a victory of the realistic policy, of the peoples' fight for disarmament. That accord was shown to represent a beginning, a mere first step towards the building of a nuclear-free world wherefrom the use of force has been eliminated.

Romania and the Soviet Union consider it imperatively necessary that continuous, dynamic, and irreversible character be imparted to the disarmament process. An important step along that line would be the conclusion of an accord between the USSR and the U.S. on a 50-percent cut in offensive strategic weapons, the antimissile defense treaty, in the form in which it was signed back in 1972, being observed and never given up for a duration agreed upon. The peoples' vital interests also call for the prevention of an arms race in the outer space, for a general and complete ban on nuclear tests, for the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons and of other arms of mass destruction, for the reduction of troops and of conventional weapons in Europe and of military spending. That disarmament measures taken in one area are compensated for by the intensification and improvement of the production of weapons in other areas was stressed as unacceptable.

In connection with the UN General Assembly third special session on disarmament, it was noted that it is intended to set the major lines of disarmament and security building, to give a positive impact to all corresponding bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

The USSR and Romania reiterated their determination to work by all means for the recovery of the political climate on the continent and the establishment of a productive, mutually advantageous collaboration among the states in Europe. They will further militate actively for substantial cuts in the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, for the conclusion of the Vienna conference, as soon as possible, with accords that would raise the all-European process in all areas to a qualitatively new level and contribute to the promotion of disarmament and the strengthening of security on the continent. Meeting these goals would be the building of a united Europe of peace and collaboration, a "European home" where a climate of good neighborliness and confidence should assert itself. The two countries' determination was expressed to firmly fight any attempts on the part of revanchist forces, no matter where and how they emerge, to call to question current territorial-political realities in Europe. The inviolability of post-war frontiers is a prerequisite for lasting peace and security on the European continent.

The need was underscored for an end to the imperialist policy of sowing hatred among peoples, of encouraging anticommunism, racism, chauvinism, and nationalism, for doing everything possible to educate the peoples in the spirit of friendship, collaboration and peace.

The Soviet Union fully supports the initiatives and efforts of Romania and Bulgaria to turn the Balkans into a zone of peace, collaboration and good neighborliness, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, and aimed at the withdrawal of foreign military bases and troops. The special importance was also stressed of continuing and expanding bilateral and multilateral dialogue between Balkan states, at all levels, including the top level, with a view to strengthening peace, confidence, security and collaboration in that area.

Support was expressed to other states' initiatives for the creation of nuclear- and chemical-weapons-free zones of confidence and good neighborliness, for the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

The importance the concomitant dissolution of the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty and, as a first step, the liquidation of their military organization would have for the radical recovery of the political climate in Europe was highlighted.

Romania and the Soviet Union will further work for the deepening of cooperation among the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty and the growth of its efficiency, for the expansion of collaboration with the other socialist countries, with all peace-loving, democratic, and progressive forces stating for disarmament, for a better and more just world on our planet.

Regional states of conflict were examined and the need was underscored for their immediate, just settlement by political means, through negotiations, on the basis of respect for every people's right to decide its own destiny.

Comrade Andrey Gromyko and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated for intensified efforts to globally solve the serious and complex questions related to underdevelopment and the developing countries' foreign debt problem, for the establishment of a new international economic order, which would guarantee the economic security of all states and would meet the interests of the stability of the world economy, the development of collaboration and the strengthening of peace in the world. A substantial contribution to the attainment of those goals would be the allocation of a share of the funds released through disarmament to meet the requirements for economic and social development of the developing countries.

Romania and the Soviet Union's solidarity with all the peoples that fight for freedom, independence, and social progress was expressed and the important role of the Nonaligned Movement in solving the complex problems of the contemporary world was underscored.

Considering the UN as the most representative international forum for the democratic debate and settlement of the political, economic, and social issues of the contemporary world, Romania and the Soviet Union stated for the growing efficiency of that organization's activity.

The results of the visit highlighted the two countries' determination to expand their traditional relations of friendship, collaboration, and good neighborliness, to intensify their cooperation in the international arena.

The visit passed in an atmosphere of friendship, cordiality, and mutual understanding.

Nikonov Departs for Working Visit to SFRY

LD1605061388 Moscow TASS in English 0609 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 16 TASS—Viktor Nikonov, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, left Moscow for Belgrade today on a working visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

He was seen off at the airport by Lev Zaykov, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee who is first secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee, and other officials.

Delegation Studies SFRY Tourist Industry

PM1205124788 Moscow TRUD in Russian 8 May 88 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Poroshin report: "Meetings in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Dubrovnik, 7 May—The city of Dubrovnik lives by tourism. But unlike our own resorts, it is geared to catering more for foreign than Yugoslav tourists. This is what determines its specific features, primarily in the services sphere.

Problems concerning the organization of the tourist business were discussed today during a conversation held by the Soviet trade union delegation at the Dubrovnik City Assembly. Leaders of the Yugoslav Trade Union Council and the Socialist Republic of Croatia took part in the conversation.

AUCCTU Chairman A.S. Shalayev, head of the Soviet delegation, emphasized that the Yugoslav experience in this sphere is very instructive for Soviet trade unions dealing with the organization of working people's vacations. Our delegation's visit to Dubrovnik was dictated by a desire to study this experience and to try to apply it in our own country.

Assembly President T. Milkovic noted that tourism in Dubrovnik is treated as commercial business. It is part of the economic rather than the social sphere and is a source for earning foreign currency. The organization of tourism is calculated to meet the needs of people at any income level.

The city is inhabited by 35,000 people. An equal and even larger number stay in Dubrovnik every day during the summer season. The public sector services sphere could not cope with its tasks. A simple solution was found to this problem in Dubrovnik—the private sector was made a part of the services sphere.

S.A. Shalayev asked about the system of economic and financial relations between the two sectors, the principles of distribution of revenues from tourism, and the prospects for its development.

The Soviet visitors toured two tourist facilities. One of them, "Babin Kuk," is on the outskirts of Dubrovnik. It is essentially an autonomous small town inhabited by 3,000 people—foreign tourists, of course. The building of the complex took only 1 year, but it has everything for a proper vacation. The town has its own shopping center, telegraph office, and two squares for dancing and recreation—one for young people, the other for the elderly. It has its own bank, indoor swimming pool, night club, sports facilities and, of course, excellent public catering.

Of course, we proceed from a different concept than the Yugoslavs—the resorts must belong to our own people. The point, however, lies not in concepts but in the

principles of organizing vacations and providing vacationers with every possible facility at the best price. This is hard work, but the Yugoslavs are doing it with a smile. And it is advantageous: Both for those who are vacationing and for those who look after their vacations.

The Soviet trade union delegation is due back in Belgrade today.

Shcherbitskiy Receives Bulgarian Consul Ruzhev

AU1605093088 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 11 May 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "A Conversation in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] On 10 May V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, received I. Ruzhev, who has assumed the mission of consul general of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in Kiev, at the latter's request.

During a conversation it was emphasized that the agreements reached at the meeting held by M.S. Gorbachev and T. Zhivkov last October in Moscow were of great importance for expanding and deepening comprehensive Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation. Restructuring in the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, basically coinciding in its goals, helps further develop bilateral cooperation, and enrich its forms and substance.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy gave an account of the republic's preparations for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and of restructuring in public life in line with the decisions of the 27th party congress and of the successive CPSU Central Committee plenums. I. Ruzhev spoke about the implementation of the policy aimed by the 13th party congress as a qualitatively new development in Bulgarian society, and about the activity of the Bulgarian consulate general in further developing Bulgarian-Soviet relations. Also, other questions concerning the part of the Ukrainian SSR in cooperation between the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria were discussed.

Participating in the warm and friendly conversation was A.V. Merkulov, department chief in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

West Europe

Primakov on Austria's Possible EC Membership

AU1605115888 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 16 May 88

[Franz Koessler report on an interview with Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the World Economics and International Relations Institute, in Moscow; date not given—Primakov statements in Russian with German translation noted in quotation marks]

[Text] For a long time, the Soviet Union followed the European process of integration with suspicion. Now it recognizes the EC as a real political factor. In this changed climate, understanding was voiced from time to time in Moscow for Austria's proposals to join the EC as a full member. These voices mainly came from the World Economics and International Relations Institute [IMEMO], a scientific institution that has a decisive role in working out Soviet foreign policy.

But in our talk, Prof Yevgeniy Primakov, the director of this institute, takes back, so to speak, this opening up. He does not see any reason to give up the reservations against Austria's EC membership with regard to the policy of neutrality. This is the official Soviet opinion, which is shared by his institute without any reservations, Primakov states.

The USSR considers the EC a community that is increasingly developing along political lines and implementing coordinated foreign policy concepts, says Primakov. The question of a joint security policy is becoming increasingly important. Thus, one has to ask whether Austria would not perhaps lose its neutral status by joining the EC.

"Let us be frank. I do not think that if Austria were to join the EC—hypothetically—the EC would become more neutral. I am much more convinced that Austria's independence would disappear."

Austria has great advantages from its neutrality, including economic advantages, Prof Primakov says. A loss of these advantages would not be compensated for by the advantages to be gained by joining the EC. In a hard tone, he accuses so-called followers of Atlantism [Atlantismus] of playing up the question of membership. In reality, these forces, whom he does not cite by name, want to see a turning away from the country's neutrality. But this neutrality is considered very important by the USSR, a signatory of the Austrian State Treaty, Primakov notes.

In Gorbachev's new European policy, which he describes with the slogan Europe is our common house, a neutral country in the heart of Europe can play an important role, says Primakov.

One can proceed from the premise that the time of political veto is over and that a superpower will not make Austria's self-chosen neutrality a burden for the country's own sovereign decisions. But one must also take into account the fact that there are still strong reservations concerning neutrality in Moscow. But if Austria decides to join the EC, why should we bother to think about it in advance?

"I do not want to see this happen," says Prof Primakov.

Demichev Meets With Italian Journalists

LD1305191088 Moscow TASS in English 1752 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—A wide range of issues of the Soviet state's domestic and foreign policies and developing Soviet-Italian ties was discussed during a candid and amiable conversation held in the Kremlin today. Petr Demichev, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, first vice-president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, met here a group of editors and correspondents of newspapers, magazines and news agencies—the delegation of the order of journalists of Italy. It is staying in the USSR on the invitation of the country's journalists' union.

The guests showed great interest in the processes of restructuring and renovating Soviet society, putting specific questions.

Participants in the conversation paid much attention to the current situation in the world, the changes that are taking place in it today largely thanks to the flexible foreign policy line of the Soviet leadership, the new political thinking.

Demichev noted an exceptional importance of the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow and drew attention to the significance which is attached in the Soviet Union to cooperation with European countries. In view of this, satisfaction was expressed with a successful development and strengthening of Soviet-Italian contacts in the economy, culture and other areas.

Tolstykh Receives Italian 'Fiat' Vice President

LD1405215088 Moscow TASS in English 2117 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 14 (TASS)—Boris Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, has received here Umberto Agnelli, chairman of the Executive Committee of the International Council of New Initiatives in "East-West" Economic Cooperation and Fiat vice president.

They discussed international economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

More on Visit of FRG's Vogel to Soviet Union

Meets With Akhromeyev

LD1305160088 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—Questions of slashing both nuclear and especially conventional armaments and armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, building up mutual confidence and assuring stability were discussed at the meeting which was held here between Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), and Sergey Akhromeyev, head of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, marshal of the Soviet Union. Hans-Jochen Vogel is in Moscow at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

They revealed a concurrence of views that moves to eliminate the existing asymmetries, bring down the quantitative levels of the NATO and Warsaw military groups opposing each other in Europe, and apply a non-offensive character to them would lead to more durable security and peace.

Holds Moscow News Conference

LD1305161788 Hamburg DPA in German 1158 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—The time of not speaking between Bonn and Moscow is over for good, in the opinion of SPD [Social Democratic Party] Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel. During his talks with General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and other leading Soviet politicians, he noted a definite interest in closer relations with the Federal Republic, Vogel said at a news conference in the Soviet capital today at the conclusion of his 4-day visit to Moscow.

The Bonn opposition leader acknowledged that the Federal Government had made efforts to improve relations with the Soviet Union. The visit by Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker last year also had a positive effect.

Vogel believes there are great opportunities to expand economic relations. He said the recent promise of credit by a consortium of German banks was a good signal in this respect. The SPD wants to do everything possible to improve German-Soviet relations. It sees itself in a "realistic pioneering role" which should not diverge from reality.

The SPD leader is convinced that success on the part of the policy of restructuring introduced by Gorbachev would be in the interests of Europe and the rest of the world. Vogel spoke of an "exciting chapter" in Soviet history currently taking place in the USSR. He has only now become really aware of how comprehensive is this process of reforms.

On the last day of his visit to Moscow, Vogel met with Chief of General Staff Sergey Akhromeyev. The deputy defense minister frankly conceded Soviet superiority in tanks, but at the same time, pointed out a Western lead in planes and helicopters. Marshal Akhromeyev insisted that the planned negotiations on reducing conventional weapons must take this imbalance from the Soviet point of view into consideration.

According to Vogel the talks also dealt in detail with the ideas put forward by the SPD on establishing a structural nonaggression capability between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, as well as the proposal by the German Social-Democrats, together with the SED, of nuclear-weapons-free corridors in Europe. The marshal suggested that nuclear armed artillery and other weapons should also be included in such corridors.

The SPD chairman would not fully exclude the possibility that a joint statement of principles along the lines of the document agreed with the SED might be formed within the framework of improved relations between his party and the CPSU. This is "an interesting thought"; it is as yet still too early, however, to hold specific talks on this.

Vogel, who has been holding talks in Moscow since Tuesday, accompanied by SPD deputies Hans Koschnick, Karsten Voigt, Dietrich Stobbe, and SPD Europarliamentarian Claus Haensch, is to leave for home this evening.

Interviewed on Visit

LD1305224488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 13 May 88

[From "The World Today" program; interview with Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, by correspondent Aleksandr Zholkver in Moscow prior to Vogel's departure home on 13 May—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Zholkver] This is not the first time that you have been to our country, but this time, you have come during restructuring. What has particularly attracted your attention?

[Vogel] I've been particularly impressed by the fact that restructuring has already largely become a reality in your vast country. During a conversation that lasted for many hours with Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, that was the main topic of discussion. The conversation made an enormous impression on me. I rarely use the expression, but in this instance, the impression really was tremendous. I saw that now, on the eve of the All-Union 19th CPSU Conference, such vital issues as the relationship between party and state, the opportunities for increasingly broad participation of the people in the running of the state, questions of elections, and so on, are being raised in your country. I was particularly impressed, as a former minister of justice, by the fact that General Secretary Gorbachev spoke, at more than one point in the conversation, of the construction of a socialist state that is bound by the law. [passage omitted]

[Zholkver] Now a foreign policy question: Here in Moscow you have several times used expressions such as new thinking and disarmament zones. Could you make these concepts more precise?

[Vogel] As for the new thinking, it is primarily a matter of overcoming the hostile images that have accumulated on both sides during the passage of time. [passage omitted] In this direction, jointly with the GDR, we have drawn up two proposals. The first concerns the establishment of a corridor, free of nuclear weapons, at a distance of 150 km on either side of the line separating both military groupings. Today, I was talking about this to Marshal Akhromeyev, and he not only supported that proposal, but also expressed a willingness to withdraw from that corridor the artillery and several other kinds of weapons capable of being used with nuclear charges. That would be an important measure for strengthening mutual trust.

Our second proposal concerns the establishment in Europe of a chemical weapons-free zone. We hope, of course, that chemical weapons will be entirely banned, but since that is still moving rather slowly, it would be a good idea to start at least with Europe. That would also help to try out a verification system.

[Zholkver] Thank you very much for the interview.

Departs 13 May

LD1305191488 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, left Moscow today. He had stayed here at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

At the airport he was seen off by Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee.

Also present was Andreas Meyer-Landrut, West Germany's ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Spanish Communists Oppose Spain Entering WEU

LD1505074388 Moscow TASS in English 0655 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] Madrid May 15 TASS—A plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain (PCE) has been held in Madrid. The participants in the plenum discussed a report by General Secretary Julio Anguita on prospects for the development of the "United Left" coalition which includes, in particular, the PCE, the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain, and the Socialist Action Party. Matters connected with the party's finances and the work of its central publications were considered as well.

In a document approved by the plenary meeting, the PCE suggested reorganising the leading bodies of the coalition of left-wing parties as "a socio-political movement which is the alternative to the government".

The goal of the "United Left", the document emphasizes, is to strive for "a society of full employment under conditions of full democracy, the pursuance of a policy of peace, general nuclear and chemical disarmament, and large-scale international cooperation".

The plenary meeting adopted a resolution in which it firmly rejects Spain's entry into the Western European Union (WEU) and is calling for enlisting the efforts of the public in the struggle against the country's participation in that military-and-political grouping.

Deputy Chief of Staff Lobov To Visit Turkey

PM1605111788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 May 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "On Official Visit"]

[Text] In accordance with the agreement which has been reached, Lieutenant General V.N. Lobov, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, will pay an official visit to the Republic of Turkey in the second half of May.

Moscow City Delegation Visits Ireland

LD1405215388 Moscow TASS in English 2119 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Dublin May 14 TASS—A delegation of the Moscow City Council, Mossoviet, led by Chairman of the Mossoviet Executive Committee Valeriy Saykin, has started a visit to the Irish capital, where it was invited by the city council to attend celebrations of the 1,000 anniversary of Dublin.

Speaking in a TASS interview, the lord mayor of Dublin expressed the hope that the visit would help strengthen relations in cultural and other fields.

An exhibition of Soviet drawings was a great success here and the exhibition "Moscow Palette", staged at the city council gallery, was a major event in the life of the city. At the invitation of the Dublin trade unions council, a delegation of the Moscow City Trade Union Council took part in May Day celebrations.

Latin America & Caribbean

Commentary Deplores U.S. Central America Policy

PA1305205788 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0000 GMT 13 May 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] There has been a failed coup attempt in Guatemala. Ultraright-wing military men and several civilians were involved. A week ago, our radio station reported that rumors were circulating in Guatemala on preparations for an antigovernment action. These rumors have now become true. The obvious conclusion is that the situations at the Jutiapa and Retalhuleu bases were not a spontaneous expression of discontent but a carefully planned action. Those involved in the coup acted out of anticommunist motivation, which is a very well-known attitude: Cuba and the USSR allegedly want to subject Guatemala to their influence.

One cannot believe that there could have been any serious belief in such nonsense, no matter how dumb the Guatemalan rightwingers are. Obviously, Washington suggested this [action] because it has always promoted anticommunist ideas in Latin America. The United States has long been possessed by the idea of shielding all Latin American countries behind a curtain from the evil socialist community.

Let us pose a question: Why has the Vinicio Cerezo government—which has been in power for 2 and a half years—suddenly become so incovenient for Washington? Furthermore, there were times when the United States even greeted this civilian government and approved the return of the military men to their garrisons. The answer can be found in one of the slogans of the rebellious ones. They protested because of the negotiations the authorities have been holding with the insurgents. The new round of talks had been set for 21-22 May in Costa Rica. The peaceful solution of internal conflicts is not convenient for Washington. The U.S. officials believe insurgent movements should be defeated and eliminated by the Army. They believe normalization of politics implies the risk of consolidating left-wing sectors. This is why the rebellious officers rebelled in Guatemala; they were directed by the CIA gringos, as usually happens in Latin America.

A similar situation exists in El Salvador, where talks are also being held between the country's rulers and the rebels in an attempt to find a peaceful solution to a long and cruel conflict. Although the talks have not been fruitful yet, because of the government, Washington seems to be alarmed. The result is there are rumors in the country about a rebellion. Recently, retired Colonel Sigifredo Ochoa, well known for his right-wing ideas, called over the radio for an antigovernment insurrection. Of more concern to Washington than the prospects of a political agreement in the Salvadoran and Guatemalan conflicts is the possibility of a normalization of the Nicaragua situation. Moreover, concern is not the exact word—fury is more like it. The U.S. Administration has been feverishly working to thwart the dialogue between the Sandinistas and the contras. In short, the United States is doing all it can to prevent the disappearance of Central American conflicts.

It could not care less that thousands of people are killed in vicious combat or that the most sacred human right—the right to life—is violated. It could not care less about the viewpoints of the rest of Latin America, whose eight most influential countries are actively helping Central Americans search for peace. We are referring to the Contadora and Support Groups. Unfortunately, the U.S.

Administration is not concerned about the fact that conflicts such as in Central America destabilize the global political environment. The determined nature of this policy is obvious.

U.S.-Contra Anti-Panamanian 'Plot' Uncovered

LD1605085588 Moscow TASS in English 0835 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Havana May 16 TASS—State security bodies of Panama have uncovered an anti-government plot in which the United States and the Nicaraguan contras are implicated.

The plotters intended to commit a series of murders and kidnappings of military and civilian leaders of Panama, to sow panic among the population and thereby destabilise the situation in the country.

News agencies report that the Panamanian authorities have arrested several plotters and seized a large amount of arms which they intended to use for their terrorist acts.

The failed conspiracy envisaged the penetration of Panama by about 70 mercenaries from among Nicaraguan contras from Costa Rican territory, and the organising of armed attacks in towns and countryside.

According to the authorities' data, four former officers of the National Defence Forces of Panama, who fled to the United States following the abortive coup attempt of March 16, this year, bore a direct relation to the elaboration of the plan. The terrorists received about two million dollars for use in the realisation of their criminal designs.

In recent months the United States has been putting strong pressure on Panama, seeking removal of the present leadership of the country. Official spokesmen of the Panamanian Government have repeatedly pointed out that hostile actions by the Reagan administration pursue the aim of foiling the implementation of the bilateral Panama Canal treaties which envision the elimination of U.S. military presence in the area of the inter-ocean waterway and its transfer to Panama by the year 2000.

Journalist Discusses Expulsion From El Salvador

PA1305232088 Moscow in Spanish to Cuba 0100 GMT 13 May 88

[Interview with Yuriy Stroyev, correspondent of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, by unidentified reporter in Guatemala City "today"—recorded]

[Text] [Station announcer] Yesterday, unexpectedly, with no explanation provided and for no apparent reason, Yuriy Stroyev, correspondent for the Soviet newspaper KONSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, was expelled from El Salvador to Guatemala. Today we have established contact with him, and we asked him to clarify what happened.

[Reporter] Tell us in Spanish what happened to you in San Salvador.

[Stroyev] In San Salvador?

[Reporter] Yes.

[Stroyev] I got the visa....

[Reporter, interrupting] You arrived at San Salvador from Nicaragua, did you not?

[Stroyev] Yes, from Nicaragua, with no problem; I had no problem there.

[Reporter] And you arrived with all your documents in order?

[Stroyev] Yes, of course.

[Reporter] So what happened?

[Stroyev] After that, the Salvadoran immigration services confirmed my visa for 10 days. Coprefa [Armed Forces Press Committee] also promised to give me the Salvadoran credentials and promised that I would not have any problem because I would be well-received by everyone. I was promised many interviews, among them an interview with the president of the Republic, contingent on his workload and schedule. I was also promised interviews with the Armed Forces and with the political parties that are now preparing for the country's presidential elections. I can also tell you I went to the Nationalist Republican Alliance, the Christian Democratic Party, and the FDR [Revolutionary Democratic Front]; everywhere I felt there was understanding.

[Reporter] However, Yuriy, you were arrested. How can you explain that?

[Stroyev] I was not arrested. Let us talk clearly. What happened is that immigration officials arrived and told me they were going to cut short my stay in El Salvador. They did not provide any explanation. They promised me I could have an interview with the country's immigration director, but in the end, they explained that he was not in the [word indistinct], and they took me to the airport in a matter of minutes. They told me they were not deporting me and that I was leaving with my passport stamped as any regular tourist's would be in El Salvador.

[Reporter] The people who said all this were officials, were they not?

[Stroyev] Yes. At times, I think they were not government forces or political forces [words indistinct]. The problem is with the extreme right, which tries to disrupt the peace and democratization process in the region. The problem is the extreme right. Everything occurred very fast and was unexpected. In fact, I already had planned

many interviews for today and yesterday, and I was not given the opportunity to apologize for not being able to make those interviews. Then, all the press and the international journalists [words indistinct]. In reality, [words indistinct] the only thing that happened was that they followed me and [words indistinct] when I was getting my things to leave. Later [words indistinct] that could be the reason why they spoke of kidnapping. It looked like a kidnapping. Actually, there was no kidnapping. I think it is a measure that some countries take when deporting or expelling people. Why? [Words indistinct] it seems they were afraid that [words indistinct].

[Reporter] One last thing: Will you try to somehow return to El Salvador?

[Stroyev] I think this is important because El Salvador and other countries cannot be isolated insofar as [words indistinct] the objective is not to separate but to unite peoples, and my objective is to have my newspaper's readers know El Salvador better through what I or a Soviet newspaper writes. [Words indistinct] improving the relations between countries. El Salvador is [words indistinct]. If [words indistinct] possibility of returning, it will be because of the attention and help I received there from [words indistinct] parties in El Salvador. I would like us to get to know each other more and better.

[Reporter] Yuriy, thank you very much. We were very worried about you when we heard the initial reports. We remembered all the years we worked together here on Radio Moscow. In any case, we are happy about the relatively good outcome of the incident. Greetings from everyone.

[Stroyev] Thank you very much [words indistinct].

Nicaragua Defense Minister on Truce With Contras

LD1505205488 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] Managua May 15 TASS—The Government of Nicaragua is prepared to continue the talks with the contras on complete and final settlement of the armed conflict in the country, stated Humberto Ortega, Nicaraguan minister of defence.

Speaking in Esteli Department, he pointed out that the Nicaraguan authorities reaffirmed their initiative to extend the temporary cessation of offensive operations for another 30 days.

The proposal was put forward with a view to creating a favourable situation for a continuation of the talks between the Sandinist government and contra leaders on a final ceasefire, Humberto Ortega emphasized.

As was reported, the agreement on a temporary truce for a period of two months had been reached at the talks in Sapoa in March this year between the government and contra leaders.

However, the U.S. Administration which tries to thwart the national reconciliation policy in the Republic, hinders the elaboration of an agreement on a final ceasefire in Nicaragua, the defence minister said.

Washington counts on one of members of the leadership of the contras, former Somozist Colonel Bermudez, who rejects any possibility of a continuation of the talks with the government. The U.S. plans also include organising border incidents for the purpose of provoking clashes between units of the Sandinist People's Army and Honduran troops, which may serve as a pretext for a direct American military invasion of Nicaragua, Humberto Ortega pointed out.

More on Truce Extension

LD1605082188 Moscow TASS in English 0752 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Managua May 16 TASS—The Government of Nicaragua has again suggested to the leadership of the armed opposition to extend the temporary truce for a month until the end of June so as to secure a final ceasefire in the country soon, stated Humberto Ortega, Nicaraguan minister of defence, when addressing high command personnel of the Sandinist People's Army in the city of Esteli.

The national leadership, he pointed out, is sincerely interested in achieving peace. However, if the talks are frustrated through the fault of the contras, the Sandinist People's Army will launch a major offensive to clear the country from the mercenaries.

Lately, despite the temporary truce, provocative and sabotage acts by mercenary groups has acquired a systematic character, particularly in central areas. At the same time the airlifting of arms, food and military equipment to the contras inside Nicaragua from Honduran territory and Swan Island, which the Central Intelligence Agency has converted into the main supply base of the anti-Sandinist rebels, is being continued.

Humberto Ortega voiced hope that, in the interests of achieving lasting peace in Nicaragua, common sense will prevail among the leadership of the contras over the adventuristic, aggressive line of the former Somozist Guard.

Kamentsev Arrives in Cuba for Cooperation Talks

LD1505115288 Moscow TASS in English 1106 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] Havana May 15 TASS—Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, has arrived in the Cuban capital.

He will head the Soviet side at a session of the intergovernmental Soviet-Cuban Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation.

Political & Social

Yerevan Back to 'Normal' After Demonstrations

AU1405133388 Paris AFP in English 1222 GMT 14 May 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, May 14 (AFP)—The situation in Yerevan, capital of Soviet Armenia was "back to normal" Saturday morning 48 hours after a demonstration by more than 40,000 people in support of Armenians in adjacent Azerbaijan, a dissident source in Yerevan said.

But no news was available from Stepanakert, the main town in Nagorno-Karabakh, a predominantly Armenian enclave in Moslem Azerbaijan where ethnic violence erupted in February.

Dissident sources in the Armenian capital said strikes and demonstrations by several thousand people had occurred on Thursday and Friday in Stepanakert. Telephone calls from Moscow to the town were systematically cut off on Saturday morning.

The latest wave of disturbances in Armenia was triggered by the appointment on May 10 of an Azeri (ethnic Azerbaijani) to the post of deputy public prosecutor in Nagorno-Karabakh. [passage omitted]

Three Detained After Demonstration Attempt

AU1405152388 Paris AFP in English 1434 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 14 (AFP)—Soviet police Saturday detained three Pentecostalists seeking permission to emigrate after they tried to stage a demonstration in central Moscow, Soviet dissident Valery Senderov told AFP.

Mr. Senderov, a human rights campaigner, said the three religious dissidents from the Ukraine town of Rovno were taken away by police moments after they held up banners reading "let us emigrate" outside the Lenin library.

Mr. Senderov said that an unspecified number of other protesters from Moscow were prevented by Soviet authorities from reaching the demonstration.

In an apparent move to deter Saturday's action, authorities allowed a "counter-demonstration" by an officially-sanctioned peace group to take place at the same time outside the library. An AFP reporter at the scene said that groups of uniformed and plain-clothes police, equipped with walkie-talkies, were standing by.

According to dissident sources, there are about half a million Pentecostalists in the Soviet Union, where their religious faith is not officially recognised. They are mostly concentrated in the Ukraine, the Baltic state of Lithuania, and Siberia and the Soviet Far East.

Protesting 'Dissidents' Arrested in Moscow

LD1405163688 Hamburg DPA in German 1436 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—The Soviet militia prevented a demonstration by dissidents at the Lenin Library in the center of Moscow at midday on Saturday. According to eye-witnesses, the security forces intervened before the dozen or so people were able to unfurl a banner with their demands. The demonstrators were immediately taken to a bus which was standing by. One of the demonstrators who was sitting down on the ground was carried to the bus. A large contingent of militiamen and civilian security forces was drawn up in the squre, where Jewish dissidents, too, often demonstrate.

Demichev Attends Supreme Soviet Meeting

LD1105231488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 11 May 88

[Text] Preparation is under way for a USSR Supreme Soviet session. Today the joint deputies preparatory commission met in the Kremlin. It includes representatives of the agro-industrial complex commissions and the legislative proposals commissions and other permanent commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. Active discussion is going on regarding the USSR draft law on cooperatives in the USSR, which will be examined in detail at the next session of the country's supreme body of state power. We remind you that the draft of this important document, tabled by the Soviet Government before the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, takes into account numerous proposals and comments expressed during nationwide discussion. Comrade Demichev took part in the meeting. The work of the deputies preparatory commission will be continued.

Shcherbitskiy Visits Chernigov Oblast

AU1305164688 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 8 May 88 pp 1-2

[RATAU report: "Developing Chernigov in a Comprehensive Way"]

[Excerpts] How do we accelerate Chernigov's social development in line with the decisions of the 27th Party Congress and the directives of the successive CPSU Central Committee Plenums? Where do we locate new residential districts? How do we preserve the city's renowned ancient architectural monuments and the unique Desna River landscape while building? These questions are highly topical for the oblast center. The average per capita housing space in Chernigov is the republic's smallest and some 24,000 families need lodgings very badly. Meanwhile, construction has come to a standstill: The city has practically exhausted its space available for this purpose. Besides, the process of building the southwestern district in the area of the Desna River floodlands has been delayed because of the controversy surrounding this issue.

To examine problems concerning Chernigov's development and the provision of all city inhabitants with lodgings before the year 2000, party and administrative functionaries, expert town planners, aktivists of the oblast organization of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, and representatives of other public organizations were invited to meet at Chernigov Obkom headquarters on 6 May.

Participating in the discussion were V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary; V.A. Masol, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Council of Ministers chairman; L.I. Palazhchenko, obkom secretary; and G.K. Zlobin, Ukrainian SSR Gosstroy chairman. [passage omitted]

During the discussion V.V. Shcherbitskiy noted the great importance of the principles of competition and the wide participation of the public in searching for an optimal solution to problems of city development. While implementing the best plan adopted as a basis, he emphasized, every valuable elaboration made by other institutions must be utilized to build truly modern and comfortable houses.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers chairman inspected the experimental production field of the Y.A. Gagarin Kolkhoz in Kozeletskiy Rayon. There they familiarized themselves with new varieties of agricultural crops. While in "Kozeletskiy" Sovkhoz, they spoke to members of V.F. Fedorenko's contracted branch engaged in corn seeding, discussed problems concerning the application of the advanced forms of labor organization and payments in agricultural production, and of intensive farming technology for various crops. During the inspection of the Syrai village trade complex, ways to improve trade services for the population, and to more fully meet the needs of rural laborers for foodstuffs and manufactured goods were discussed.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy and V.A. Masol visited Chernigov Oblast center for military-patriotic and internationalist education, built in honor of the 40th anniversary of the victory won by the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. They inspected the exposition of the museum of combat glory, which has been created there, and spoke to museum employees and veterans of the Great Patriotic War: retired Colonel V.D. Dragunov, leader of the oblast's "Search" staff who have already established the names of about 25,000 previously unknown Soviet soldiers fallen either defending or liberating the oblast from the fascist oppressors; retired Colonel, Hero of the Soviet Union A.I. Bespalov, chairman of the oblast War and Labor Veterans Council; and A.M. Lerman, chairman of the Council of the former first Guards Army's Veterans. The need was emphasized to create more varied and interesting work for young people, particularly at the draft age, and to engage veterans and servicemen who are being discharged from their internationalist duty widely in this work.

Topics discussed at a meeting with members of the obkom Bureau were: work restructuring in party organizations, improvements in the style and methods of work, the mobilization of communists and all laborers for accomplishing the annual production tasks, and for fulfilling pledges assumed in honor of the forthcoming 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Latvian Environment Committee Established

LD1305212288 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Riga May 13 TASS—For the first time in Latvia a minister-level official was nominated by representatives of the public and not appointed from "above". At the request of the government of this Baltic republic, leading scientists, journalists and public figures recommended that 50-year-old Peteris Ziedins be elected to the post of chairman of the State Committee for Environmental Protection. An ichthyologist, he is known in the republic as an uncompromising fighter for the proteciton of the environment, a consistent man of principle. The public also spoke out on the structure of this new republican committee.

"The very fact that the government decided to set up a new state committee when the administrative apparatus is being cut by a third in the republic bears testimony to the special attention paid to the problems of ecology," Peteris Ziedins said "Already during the first week in my new job I received dozens of letters from the inhabitants of the republic alarmed over the pollution of the atmosphere, rivers and lakes. Pepole also have fears that the new nature conservation body might be unable to cope with the pressure of ministries and departments. Their fears are not groundless. I know from my experience of many years how difficult it is to make people who are ready to justify the stupid bungling with the notorious "production necessity" heed the voice of the ecologist. But today I am sure of the success. The guarantee is not only the wide powers given by the government to the committee but also noticeable democratisation in society."

As an example of the growing consciousness of the Soviet people, Peteris Ziedins cited the abandoned project of the Daugavpils hydro electric station. Incidentally, he was among those who opposed it.

"Protection of the Baltic," Peteris Ziedins said, "Is one of the most urgent concerns of the ecologists of the country. We are fighting together with our neighbours for the purity of the unique basin."

Putko on Party Conference Preparations

LD1305165588 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 13 May 88

[Aleksandr Putko commentary]

[Text] Delegates are being elected to the national conference of the Soviet Communist Party which will begin in Moscow on the 28th of next month. Radio Moscow's Aleksandr Putko elaborates:

Everybody understands the conference has destiny-making significance for this country. It will sum up the initial stage of the restructuring here and outline the further revolutionary renewal of society. Preparations for the conference began last June when the Party's Central Committee adopted the decision at a full-scale meeting. Since then the media have been discussing the problems facing restructuring. There has been a clash of opinions about economic reform, foreign policy and promotion of democracy. Mikhail Gorbachev has said the party conference is to specify political action on the various questions of natural importance and scrutinize and notably stimulate the restructuring.

Never before have preparations for a party forum been more open or energetic. For the first time in years the entire nation has paid such close attention to the election of delegates. The key criterion for choosing them is their attitude to restructuring and their ability to get prompt and competent action on Communist Party policy. The norm of representation has been determined. One delegate is to be elected by every 3,780 party members. In all, 5,000-odd delegates will be elected by secret ballot at full-scale meetings of the central committees of party organizations in the union republics, regions, and areas.

The candidates, however, are nominated by the grass-root organizations and work collectives in an open and democratic way, with the participation of nonparty members. There have been no recommendations from above and no pressure or instructions. The elections have already been held in the Kalinin region in the northwest of the Russian Federation. Forty-four delegates were elected out of the proposed 100-odd candidates. The 44 include (Yevgeniy Belyakov), and electrician at a large machine building complex. Asked whether the irreversibility of restructuring and democratization can be guaranteed, (Belyakov) said he believed the main guarantee were people themselves. The communists who elected him gave him the mandate to adopt only such decisions that would stimulate restructuring.

A textile worker, (Galina Brausova), who was also elected, presses for giving priority to the solution of social problems, and another delegate is the manager of a farming enterprise, (Sergey Mironov). It is under his guidance that the once backward enterprise has quickly become profitable. (Mironov) steered clear of administrative pressure, but emphasized the good organization of work, (?apt) calculations, and material incentives. Local people say he has solved the problems that faced the enterprise in the spirit of restructuring. It is significant that there are (?a) few party officials among the conference delegates. The election is continuing in the spirit of our time, the spirit of more democracy and greater openness.

Town Prepares for Return of Afghanistan Troops

LD1405103788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0840 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan starts tomorrow. Our soldiers are returning home. Their life and exploits show that the people have staunch sons growing up. The grateful fatherland awaits them, grateful for the courage and for the high dignity with which they discharged their internationalist duty. It is no secret that it was paid for by many lives and blood shed in the mountains of Afghanistan.

Termez, a town in the south of the country, is preparing to receive the first Soviet troop units. Comrade Saliyev, chairman of the Termez town council Executive Committee, says that the welcoming ceremony will take place near a specially erected stela near the bridge across the Amudarya. A hotel and means of communication have been prepared for the guests arriving from Moscow, Kiev, Minsk, Tashkent, Dushanbe, and neighboring villages. Additional flights have been laid on and trains are running from Tashkent to Termez and back. A group of all-union radio correspondents will be flying out to Termez tomorrow by one such special flight.

We will not be the only ones welcoming the troops; the entire country will be welcoming them. We are to do this with all generosity and cordiality. [passage omitted]

Minsk Editors Block Andreyeva Article Reprint

LD1305145188 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 18, 1 May 88 p 4

[Natalya Buldyk dispatch: "The Newspaper Couldn't Give Up Its Convictions"]

[Text] Minsk—The rumour spread like fire. It was discussed sotto voce and with raised eyebrows. The staff of the Belorussian youth paper "Znamya Yunosti" was alleged to have boycotted orders from "on high" to reprint N. Andreyeva's article "I can't give up my principles", published in "Sovetskaya Rossiay". The printers, it was said, had declared a sort of strike, "losing" whole pages of the text, and "missing" certain typesets. In short, disturbing and unbelievable rumours circulated in Minsk until "Prada" condemned the "Sovetskaya Rossiya" publication.

What really did happen at Znamya Yunosti?

I called on the paper's editor, Aleksandr Solomakha.

Solomakha is 33. He has been on the staff of Znamya Yunosti for four years, as its editor—a mere six months. He answered my question straight off and directly, so our exchange took less than five minutes. It went something like this:

"A couple of days after the publication of N. Andreyeva's article in Sovetskaya Rossiya we received a TASS message stating that many newspapers would like to reprint the publication in compliance with their readers' requests, and that if we wanted to do the same we could consult the Party authorities," Solomakha said. "I then called the propaganda department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia, and was told that we should make our own decision. We decided not to reprint it."

Talking to the staff, however, I saw that it had all been somewhat more ambiguous than that. For the next two hours or so I listened to a detailed account of the situation which, as it turned out, had lasted for several days. I heard first from Galina Vitkovskaya, then from Pavel Vladimirov, Larisa Sayenko, Natalya Andreyeva, and Oleg Gruzdelovich.

Apparently it was Somomakha who authorized the reprint on the strength of the message from TASS. To all appearances, he had not yet read N. Andreyeva's article. The first to read it was Oleg Gruzdelovich who then gave the text to everyone in the office to read, including the proof-readers and typists. The overwhelming reaction was that if such an article were reprinted it would ruin the paper's authority and be damaging to perestroika. We shared our view with Solomakha. He got all worked up and refused to discuss the issue altogether.

The journalists got worried and started calling their colleagues in Leningrad and the Baltic republics and other newspapers in Belorussia. They all said they were not going to reprint the Sovetskaya Rossiya article. This gave the journalists added strength and determination to stand their ground. The "rebels" saw that their editor, after he had read N. Andreyeva's letter attentively, doubted if it should be reprinted. They made it plain that if he ignored their views many journalists, together with other staffers, would quit.

A general meeting was held for which we were very well prepared. Emotions were present, but serious arguments and facts prevailed. Solomakha jotted down everything, and took his notes to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia. Following that, to reprint or not to reprint was no longer the question.

Soon thereafter came the Pravda article. That's about all that happened in the offices of one of the most widely read newspapers in Belorussia (its circulation is 800,000). I can only add that far from everyone is enthusiastic about the incident. Take old hands like Svetlana Barannikova and Yevgeniya Stepanova, for example.

Said Stepanova: You should understand that there wasn't really any conflict as such. There was simply a small outburst of emotions quickly stifled by the editor, who then took heed of his staff's opinions. And then, our view was shared "on the top", too. I think you'd do good not to make us out to be some kind of "heroes".

Heroes? Well, no one feels like a hero at Znamya Yunosti.

"In some respects we acted ridiculously, like kids, perhaps," said Oleg Gruzdelovich. "But then it's hardly surprising, having had no previous experience. For the first time ever we were not frightened by an opinion that came from 'above'. More than that, we were not stopped by warnings from our more authoritative colleagues, who suggested that we shouldn't get involved because nothing would come of it. We, however, thought our position was right, and we stood by it."

Media Luminaries on Press, Restructuring

PM1305143388 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 17, 24 Apr 88 pp 8-9

[Unattributed "Round Table" feature: "Perestroyka as Mirrored in the Press and the Press—in Perestroyka"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] "MOSCOW NEWS" recently organized a round table dedicated to the 3rd anniversary of the April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. Participating were Aleksandr Bovin, "IZVESTIYA" political analyst; Viktor Kozhemyako, "PRAVDA" editor for inner-party life; Aleksandr Levikov, "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA" special correspondent; Mikhail Poltoranin, APN political analyst, and professor Gavriil Popov, editor of "VOPROSY EKONOMIKI" magazine. "MN" political analyst Dmitriy Kazutin presided.

MN: Society has gotten down in earnest to solving the most urgent and vital problems—housing, food and goods and services. Development of the social sphere is accelerating. Specific decisions have been taken on restructuring the public education and health-care systems. A radical economic reform—the main lever of large-scale changes—is becoming an accomplished fact. One of perestroyka's first gains has been the emancipation of thought.

During the past three years it has been repeatedly stressed that the press and other mass media have a big role to play in perestroyka. The press is the mirror of the processes taking place in society; it is also an instrument of renewal, democratization and glasnost. But to be able to cope with this role, the press had to remake itself.

Popov: One of the chief results of these three years has been learning perestroyka. Learning, clarifying specifying—all along the line: what actually took place in the past, what is the braking mechanism, what is its connection with the personality cult, what will have to be

redesigned, how much time will it take, what are the various versions of perestroyka, what are its motive forces, and what does it mean for every one of us? Everyone has been learning: managers and workers, scientists and Party functionaries, co-op members and procurators, collective farmers and artists. And the press is, perhaps, our main "class room."

Bovin: To the achievements of the past three years I would add the breakthroughs by newspapers and magazines in developing the ideas of the April Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and the 27th Party Congress, breakthroughs in expanding the range of themes and posing new problems. On the other hand, the word "breakthrough" as such indicates that the "front" line is still very winding. There are areas where an offensive has not yet started. I mean the regional and district press.

Poltoranin: In many regions the circulation of local papers has dropped on account of the central ones.

Bovin: This is interesting, but also sad. I was in Pyatigorsk when the local STAVROPOLSKAYA PRAVDA ran a pointed article, possible with some exaggerations, about perestroyka's major problems by a man named Krasulya. You should have seen what he got for it! And the criticism was on a cave-man's level. Like the following: all in all, during the past quarter of a century, so many schools, hospitals and kindergartens have been built in our Territory, and here Krasulya is writing about some "deformations of socialism". And the signature with a collection of titles—evidently to substantiate the criticism.

I couldn't contain my feelings and wrote a short item titled "Merciless realism." They printed it. But the "pounding" on Krasulya continued. They sent me the March 26 issue of STAVROPOLSKAYA PRAVDA in which two doctors and one candidate of science accused Krasulya of kowtowing to the West and distorting Marxism-Leninism.

Levikov: Nina Andreyeva, the author of the "letter" published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA March 13, would surely have included your Krasulya in the offspring of nepmans or descendants of the basmatches.

But if our press has fully rebuilt itself (which I strongly doubt), why is it that none of the influential newspapers dared object to Andreyeva's letter, even with a reader's letter, until April 5 when PRAVDA ran an editorial? I, for one, was able to publish my objection to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA only in MOSCOW NEWS on March 23. Others waited for an instruction or permission—what happened? Understanding this is crucial to appraising the true scope of perestroyka in the press. While newspapers kept silent, the conservative forces started to join ranks around this anti-perestroyka manifesto.

Bovin: I believe that Andreyeva's "letter" in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and the "belated" response to it have thrown light on the weakness and dependence of our journalism. Why has the "letter" been reprinted by several regional newspapers? After all, Andreyeva and those who acted with her delivered a strike at the ideological pivot of perestroyka. This, I believe, is a disreputable, disgraceful act.

Kozhemyako: The fact that we freely and seriously discuss all these problems is an indisputable achievement of perestroyka. I remember the editorial mail preceding April 1985. The barometer of public feelings seemed to have stopped on "foul weather". Apathy, spite, hopelessness—this is what letters from our readers brought us daily. I remember a letter from Kemerovo region, written by one Avaliani. He sent us a copy, and the letter itself was sent to Brezhnev. It was an appeal to Brezhnev to resign.

The letter was dealt with by Chernenko personally. I don't know whether it was on his initiative or that of overzealous local authorities, but Avaliani was sent in for a psychiatric evaluation. He proved mentally sound. Nevertheless he was dismissed from work. And we, at PRAVDA, were powerless to help him.

Recently Avaliani wrote us again. He is now Secretary of the Party Bureau of the Kiselevskugol (coalmining) association and full of vigour, fresh thoughts and hopes.

The mail has changed considerably. There are fewer personal grievances, and more serious discussions of various problems. Many are concerned about the fate of perestroyka and conservative forces' resistance to it.

We, at PRAVDA, also have to deal with this conservatism. One example: a Leningrad worker, Pozhedayev, wrote us about shortcomings at Baltiyskiy Zavod. We asked the factory Party organization to discuss the letter at a meeting. They refused: how was it possible to denigrate such a plant? We turned to the District Party Committee—they also refused to help. So did the City Party Committee.

Poltoranin: There is an acute problem of interrelationships between the press and the managerial apparatus. We know old photographs: Lenin reading PRAVDA, reading IZVESTIYA. He was well aware of the importance of the press. For him the newspaper was a wise and well-informed interlocutor. Regrettably, many people do not understand this. Bureaucrats do not turn to newspapers for fresh ideas and do not recognize journalists' desire to help solve their problems. They only care about one thing: if their government department, their enterprise or they themselves have been criticized or praised in the press.

Bovin: What haven't we written about, what problems haven't we posed in the last three years? It is time, I believe, to get down to the effectiveness of our criticism, to see what has changed after our critical attacks.

Poltoranin: The nature of criticism has changed. In the past, isolated, often glaring, but still isolated facts were criticized. Now journalists are most apt to criticize phenomena. What is expected of the press today is a totally different and more profound kind of effectiveness.

Levikov: I am not so optimistic about perestroyka in the press. Only a few publications have changed radically. A number of other newspapers and magazine have basically remained the same—except they are writing a bit more about glasnost, democracy and the questions of history. They have "tuned in" but they haven't changed fundamentally, in a revolutionary way, vis-a-vis perestroyka. As we've mentioned, many newspapers and magazines, not just in outlying areas but in Moscow, too, are still waiting for special instructions; and readers are still waiting these editorial staffs to wake up.

What has changed in real terms? Newspapers have become more informative. Consequently, people are less interested in rumours and foreign broadcasts. The press has become more discussion-prone, although it's only beginning to move towards genuine pluralism of opinions. We made a lot of headway in dealing with historical problems—at long last we've started speaking out loud about Stalin's repressive measures and camps, sorting out who was who, and what damage arbitrary rule inflicted upon socialism. It's a good start, but there's still plenty more to "plough" through.

What should give rise to our concern? The level of criticism. Its profundity and level of generalization remain very low. We raise our hands as before vis-a-vis the apparatus hierarchy. Everything above a certain managerial level remains a zone closed to criticism: the mechanisms of appointments and shifts at higher levels of authority, the activities of ministers, a critical look at the performance of the Councils of Ministers in the Republics, the new subunits of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the leading core of local authority—from regional to republican level. For most newspapers and magazines all of this remains off-limits. Why? Who banned this and when? Why can one bar a correspondent from access "to the top", refuse to talk to him or give him information? I think that our marking time and skidding are due to the methods of guiding the press. In many respects they are still based on administrative command. Conferences, instructions, briefings, "moral guidance". And only editorial bosses are invited, instead of leading journalists who have readers' respect and can really influence public opinion.

MN: Different opinions notwithstanding, I think it's fair to say that the press has helped promote the new thinking. I mean social awareness in general and the psychology of journalists in particular.

The revolution in journalism has proceeded at a rapid pace. What seemed bold and sensational (in the good sense) only yesterday, looks trivial today. Two or three years ago for example, could we have openly discussed the question of restructuring our political system? Since the February Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, this has been a major topic in the press.

The press has been paving the way for a genuine pluralism of opinions. We are not yet always able to argue, to listen to an opinion with which we disagree, but that'll come with time.

During the past three years a mechanism of glasnost has been created by our common effort. But like any new mechanism, it sometimes looks, to use Lenin's words, "worse than the first steam engine." It malfunctions in extreme situations. Such was the case during the Chernobyl tragedy. Such was the case when dramatic events unfolded in Nagornyy Karabakh. And after the appearance of Andreyeva's letter.

Newspapers kept silent, but people, already accustomed to glasnost, were puzzled by this silence, and did not keep silent themselves. They expressed their opinions not in "smoking rooms", as before, but in letters to newspapers ad at Party meetings.

We need a well thought-out and democratic law on the press, a law to determine the journalist's responsibility for published information, a law to regulate the conduct of the editorial staff in the event of an error and to protect the journalist's good name in a conflict.

Besides criticism in the press, the press itself has become an object of criticism, beginning with the 27th CPSU Congress. This is, incidentally, one of the democratic methods for guidance over the press. But it is essential that criticism of the press should be governed by the same principles as criticism in the press. It should be well-meaning and constructive, and lay no claims to knowing the ultimate truth.

Bovin: I would like to say a few words about our international news. The changes here have been minimal. There are livelier and more diversified articles and broadcasts, TV and radio space links, efforts to transform the "image of the enemy" into the "image of a partner". That is, perhaps, all that we can boast about.

We still don't have what is most important.

There is no objective, full information. The facts are still divided into "pleasant" (we write and speak about them) and "unpleasant" (we keep quiet about them).

There is no serious, wise analysis of many events and processes in international affairs.

"Restricted areas" are the rule, rather than the exception.

These areas include: analysis, not apology for, but analysis of Soviet foreign policy, including, naturally, critical examination of particular foreign policy acts; foreign and internal policy of socialist countries; the situation in "socialism-oriented" countries; the policy of any country which we consider friendly or want to be among our friends; the situation in the communist movement, in the Communist Parties.

We don't tell our readers or listeners about what is happening, say, in Romania or Angola, Iran or Mozambique, Libya or North Korea. We present a black-and-white picture of the situation in the Middle East or Central America, in southern Africa or the Persian Gulf. We ourselves prod people into listening to the Voice of America and other "voices".

MN: perestroyka has posed the problem of the effectiveness of the press in a new way. Russian progressive journalism—to say nothing of the Bolshevik press—never accepted the principle "it's up to the writer to write, it's up to the reader to read". To transform the idea into a material force—this is what Lenin and the Bolsheviks saw as the key task of the partisan press. The administrative-command system placed the press as well on a directive footing. A newspaper satire in those years could get one fired, or worse. But dismissing the person didn't dismiss the problem or the conditions that prompted the satire. It is true that the time of issuing directives is receding into the past. And it is even more true that, while losing its directive character, the word of the journalist must enhance its moral prestige.

Popov: I see preparations for the 19th Party Conference as the main direction in the activities of the press, including its organizing activities. For the conference not to turn into unanimous approval of the fine report of the Central Committee and not confine itself to the adoption of a resolution, but to become a real instrument of real change in the executive mechanism, there is a need to consider the procedure of electing delegates to this conference. The traditional procedure of electing delegates is hardly consonant with the period of revolutionary reconstruction.

We must learn perestroyka, including the art of making Party forums a reflection of the opinion not of the apparatus, but of the Party as a whole. Only then can the party be a real leader of perestroyka.

MN: I trust everyone here has been able to speak out on what he sees as the main problems. Thank you.

Democracy Spurned in Manager's Election

PM1205092188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 9 May 88 p 2

[Article by G. Prilutskiy, deputy chief of the "Volgoelektromontazh" Trust Technical Department, secretary of the Labor Collective Council: "There Was Just One Candidate—The Manager Himself...."—boldface as published]

[Text] Kuybyshev—I am not a party member but, like millions of Soviet people, I ardently approve the CPSU Central Committee's activity aimed at the renewal of Soviet society. It is painful to see that the party's line of restructuring is often distorted by covert adversaries of the new.

Haste is undesirable in any important work. It is evident, however, that the desire to file reports as soon as possible still guides the actions by senior personnel in the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work. At the end of December 1987 our "Volgoelektromontazh" Trust received a ministry circular making it mandatory "to hold elections of leaders without delay." An urgently convened conference solved the problem within 15 minutes: By an open ballot it elected as manager the only candidate for the position—S. Osipkov, who is already our manager.

This hasty procedure could not produce even a semblance of democracy. It is hardly worth listing the mistakes and breaches committed at the conference, since the principle of competing candidates had not been observed. I went to the ministry with a proposal that this election be deemed invalid. The main administration chief declared: This cannot be done since the minister has already confirmed the conference decision. And the ministry's written reply said that there were no grounds to invalidate the election since "the collectives cannot see any candidate for the position of manager other than S. Osipkov." True enough, and as a matter of fact some people did not even see him as a candidate. For example, the conference of the Engelskoye Installation Administration passed a decision to the effect that the subdivision's collective could not see a candidate for the position of manager in the trust at all. This was even more of a reason for not hurrying the election. Appropriate candidates should have been nominated to start with, there should have been a reserve pool for promotion, and only then should the conference have been convened.

The mechanics of the election procedure are not a trivial matter, either. It must ensure free expression of the entire collective's will. At our conference, however, the norm of representation was breached to the advantage of subdivisions located in Kuybyshev, where S. Osipkov exerts the most influence. And the total number of delegates at the conference was less than the quorum required for adopting a valid decision. It is strange that the ministry justifies rather than criticizes this fact: "This is a perfectly legitimate decision, since the participation of workers in the conference results in distracting those workers from their main production work and in the expenditure of funds to pay official travel expenses." Surely the calculation of the cost of elections is neither here nor there?

Of course, the trust apparatus is always at hand. Its officials would be more eager to vote for S. Osipkov than would the actual installation workers from the outlying areas. Look how the trust management apparatus is

shaped. Anyone who has committed major blunders in subdivisions often finds protection and a place in the trust's offices. B. Kirichenko drank heavily while in one of the administrations and was dismissed from office. And what happened—he was appointed chief engineer of the trust. Some 2 years later he was replaced by P. Zhavnerko, who had recently distinguished himself in the consumption of hard drink. The apparatus provided sanctuary for Ya. Khait, director of one of the sector's plants who was dismissed for false reporting; Z. Zulkornyayev, chief of the trust's motor vehicles pool who was sacked for engaging in shady deals; his predecessor A. Golyakov who was dismissed for drunkenness; and O. Kermalov, chief of the installation administration, who had compromised himself.

And what sort of man is S. Osipkov? He is a man whose work style leaves no room for democratism. As far as he is concerned, there is no such thing as subordinates' opinions, only his own opinion exists. It occasionally appears as if at times he is not worried about how to do things better as long as they are done his way. Our manager, when he came out of the hospital, simply cancelled orders issued in his absence, attributing them to "deputies doing things of their own accord." Centralism is so powerful that his deputies would not dare determine a cleaner's wages without the manager's consent.

S. Osipkov clearly trampled the apparatus party organization. How could anybody talk about democratic principles in the trust management when only one party meeting of apparatus Communists took place last year. The reason why that meeting was convened was neither here nor there. The meeting discussed the case of P. Zhavnerko, the aforementioned chief engineer of the trust, and dismissed him from duty as party bureau secretary for drunkenness. Should S. Osipkov not shoulder some responsibility? Of course he should. But can he change his work style? Hardly, since he is almost due to retire on pension.

Decisions made by the leader personally result in grave mistakes. The trust's subdivisions in Kuybyshev employ almost 1,500 persons. Many of them need housing, but people are not particularly pleased when they are allocated a home because they are all situated in the city center. Only 3 percent of workers are pleased with this—the trust management apparatus. The others, who work at a distance of 10-20 km from the center, are right in assuming that the next new block is not meant for them. Past experience in the allocation of space in apartment blocks indicates that their fears are justified. Tenancy documents are awarded primarily to "useful" people.

I'll say this bluntly, my follow employees do not support my stance on the election for manager. They are unwilling to make trouble. Our earnings are high, the bonuses are good, the work is not dirty, housing is available nearby. Who would like to lose such a job?

But they will have to disregard personal interests and overcome the fear of losing a good job, because there must be no secluded corners in restructuring. But it is not easy to express an honest opinion at elections. The recommendations on the holding of elections for leaders, as approved by the AUCCTU and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, envisage the possibility of open ballots. The fear to openly take a stance, which is felt by many, will retard the process of renewal of leadership cadres for a long time to come. Candidates for the chief's job usually sit on the presidium and can clearly see who is voting for whom. On the day after the election the victor will promote those who voted for him, while the others will be kept down and maybe even hounded out of the collective. And yet there is a tested method to avoid these consequences—the secret ballot.

Media Attacks Dissident 'Trust' Group

Activity Described

PM1305091788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 May 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by V. Pustov: "Neither Molehills, Nor Mountains. The Anti-Soviet Propaganda Stunts of the 'Doveriye' Group Are Bursting Like Soap Bubbles"]

[Text] People who specialize in lies try to make mountains out of molehills, as is known. True, in a fit of candor they may admit that what is needed is not just any molehill, but invariably an appropriate one. It seems that to begin with this was also understood by the founders of a group who gave it the sonorous title "Doveriye" [Trust] which is not devoid of claims to a noble nature. After all, you cannot create a gigantic specter of anti-Sovietism out of just any kind of slander.

Their subversive activities date back to 1982 when a number of people who described themselves as "refuseniks" (for a number of reasons they had been temporarily banned from leaving the USSR) declared that they were setting up a "group for the establishment of trust between the USSR and the United States" (subsequently they started making a lot of noise about "the establishment of trust between East and West"). "Establishment" followed immediately, but not of trust between the two countries, but of close ties—overt and covert—with Western circles that were anything but progressive, or more specifically, with correspondents of bourgeois mass media accredited in Moscow. As for "trust," it was sought initially among foreign pacifist organizations for the purpose of deceiving the public. To this end, statements, addresses, proclamations, petitions, and appeals came pouring out of the aforementioned group, like from a cornucopia. They proclaimed a quest for "the key to peace," recommended "flowers instead of bombs," and called for "a prayer for peace" and the "humanization of

international relations." It was proposed that the Soviet-U.S. dialogue should become "four-sided" including "the independent public of both countries." Needless to say, the group considers itself above all as falling into that category.

Soon, however, they began to spice the hypocritical peace-making stance with barely veiled anti-Sovietism. Thus a certain M. Reytman, who was granted a visa for Israel and ended up in the United States, published an opus in the anti-Soviet journal STRANA I MIR [Country and Peace], which is published in the FRG, in which the author proposes, for instance, an "examination of the thesis: Why do Soviet citizens display such indifference toward the defense of peace." He alleges that "a hatred of Americans" is instilled in Soviet children. And this is just the beginning; the worst is yet to come.

Time went by. The founders of the so-called "Doveriye" group, got their visas and departed, formally, for the "promised land," yet one after another they settled in another part of the world—the United States. Some continued their anti-Soviet activities with even greater zeal, while others abandoned them. There were also those who began to see things in their true light. Of them later.

The leadership of the "Doveriye" group changed, and with every change it became more blatantly hostile toward our homeland. Its anti-Soviet excesses, calculated now to gain trust among Western patrons, became more and more odious. Here is an example. A father, mother, and 2-year-old daughter appear at "Kropotkinskaya" Metro Station. They take off their jackets. The inscriptions on their t-shirts read: "I demand work in my special field." "I demand work in my profession." The child is sporting a flag with the inscription "work for mummy and daddy!" Foreign journalists, alerted in advance, and in particular CBS and ABC television network correspondents, train their still, video-, and cine-cameras on them. What a sensation—unemployment in the USSR!

The disgraceful farce was staged in the hope of creating a scandal. After all, the Muscovite passers-by knew that it is impossible for anyone who wants to work to be without work in our country. Steps were taken against the agents provocateurs. In the West this was presented as persecution of dissidents deprived of work. Incidentally, the spouses Medvedkov who were making the "demands" had, at the time, permanent and well-paid jobs at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Geography. Or rather, they featured on the staff list, but their scientific qualifications were dwindling with every passing day because they squandered their entire working time on anti-Soviet agitation for the "Doveriye" group and tittle-tattle about the fact that they had temporarily been refused a visa for Israel. This behavior could not but evoke indignation among the institute collective. Therefore the provocation at Kropotkinskaya Station pursued also another aim—to put pressure on a certification commission to approve them as scientific workers. This ploy did not work out. The certification commission members passed a unanimous verdict in secret ballot: "Not suitable for the post occupied."

Since the "Doveriye" group was finding it increasingly difficult to find supporters, efforts were made to enlist young people with no experience of life, especially those who describe themselves as "hippies," "punks," and so forth.

These young people who are not noted for stable moral or political views thought it flattering to find themselves at the focus of attention of foreign correspondents and in the company of so-called "independent fighters for peace," after all, the "hippies," as is known, also aspire to "independence." They liked all this all the better since the contacts with foreigners did not always go unrewarded. If they were lucky, someone would give them a T-shirt, or a record, or even a book slandering life in the USSR. This is the usual method employed to instill admiration for the Western way of life in young people, while fostering a negative attitude to our way of life. Soon the young "fighters for peace" began to lay claim to "world fame." Various radio "voices" tried to outdo each other, reporting about them. Following this it is easy to incite the vainest among them to scandalous "independent" behavior, to overtly provocative statements and actions. "Doveriye" group members have used and continue to use people with clearly pronounced psychological disorders for their unseemly aims. What can you say, the methods fit those who use them.

The remarks of some former leaders of "Doveriye" are highly indicative in this context. They permitted themselves more candid, if cynical remarks about the group once they knew that they would soon be leaving our country for good, which, by the way, had been the purpose of their feverish activities within the group. Some jeered at the "dregs of young people" involved in the scandalous actions of the "Doveriye" group, others, filling in their departure documents at OVIR [Department for Visas and Registration of Foreign Citizens] even expressed regret "that they had to rub shoulders with such scum in the group."

Paradoxically, the "Doveriye" group itself is going through a crisis while interest in the group on the part of Western patrons is mounting. The group often gets visits from capitalist country embassy staff and representatives of other foreign establishments in Moscow. M. Matera, of the U.S. Embassy, who, incidentally, was forced to leave the territory of the USSR in fall 1986 after being declared persona non grata for activities incompatible with the status of a diplomat was "one of them." Now S. Wagner, second secretary at the U.S. embassy has taken the group "under her wing." She is actively trying to gather information about alleged violations of human rights in the Soviet Union. She is being assisted in this by another U.S. Embassy staffer—R. Stevenson.

Members of the "Doveriye" group and their foreign patrons are trying to make use of the intensifying process of democratization and glasnost in our country in their own fashion. Their orientation toward blatantly anti-Soviet actions including overt propaganda, for instance, of the subversive activities of emigre organizations of the NTS [People's Labor Alliance] type, foreign radio voices' broadcasts, and so forth is currently being observed. The foreign guests who attend "Doveriye" rallies show special interest in the anti-Soviet appeals that are being issued, and in particular in the very crude attacks on the Soviet Army. You could say that this topic is becoming central in the activities of the leaders of the "Doveriye" group. They are mounting what could be described as a head-on slander attack on the Soviet citizens' honorable duty enshrined in our Constitution—military service in the USSR Armed Forces.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported how the "Doveriye" group tried to ascribe unwillingness to serve in the Soviet Army to serviceman Lev Krichevskiy. The malicious slander about him continues. Other honest Soviet youths are also becoming targets of this kind of slander.

Vsevolod Filipyev who has chosen the profession of an officer is studying successfully at the Lvov Higher Military Political College. Meanwhile "Doveriye," in libellous statements circulated in the West has declared him to be "a conscientious objector who has disappeared without a trace" and demands "that his fate be investigated."

I have met student V. Filipyev. He told me how "Doveriye" group members Ye. Debryanskaya, A. Rubchenko, and A. Krivov tried to turn him into a "prisoner of peace" and persuade him to refuse to do his military service. They extolled the U.S. "Star Wars" program presenting it as a defensive program, tried to put the blame for the arms race on the USSR, and steered the conversation to the need for our country to disarm unilaterally. Incidentally, prompted by Western propaganda, the "Doveriye" group is persistently trying to persuade those who will listen that "nuclear disarmament is advantageous only for the Soviets," that "they cannot be trusted." V. Filipyev recognized the hostile face of the rabid anti-Soviet agents under the pacifist mask in time.

However, it does happen that a fatal mistake is not recognized straight away. Dmitriy Argunov, born 1967, came to join "Doveriye," on the admission of its leaders, "through his enthusiasm for the hippie philosophy." Playing on the youth's pacifist sentiments, they persuaded him to sign a statement rejecting the draft which was immediately passed to the West through foreign correspondents.

However, even this provocation ultimately turned into a fiasco. Dmitriy Argunov himself wrote in a letter to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "I am grateful to my father for the serious conversation which we had, after which I began to understand the error of my ways and decided to join the Army. My military service is now over. In the Army I met real Soviet people who love their motherland and are prepared to lay down their lives for it."

Sometimes even members of the "Doveriye" aktiv begin to see things in their true light. Yu. Khronopulo, G. Krochek, V. Kalyuzhnyy, I. Sobkov, V. Blok, and S. Rozenoyer, for instance, have broken with the group. Blok and Rozenoyer have said that they realized that "they were the executors of the provocative designs of one of the founders of 'Doveriye' and his patrons."

The group also included O. Radzinskiy who later emigrated to the United States. Prior to his departure he made a public statement for UPI, REUTER, and AFP. In it he declared his serious desire "to warn the peace-loving public in East and West against trusting the Moscow "Doveriye" group. And in a letter to this group O. Radzinskiy accused its leaders of making a mockery of concepts such as peace and trust.

It is said with good reason that lies are the origin of all vice, it is with lies that it all begins. The anti-Soviet activities of the "Doveriye" group are a graphic example of this. The arsenal of their methods includes slander, deception, low cunning, provocations, forgery, and much else that comes under the heading of violations of the law. And what is alarming is that they act unscrupulously in spheres where we are sometimes rather ineffective. Ideology, just like nature, abhors a vacuum.

Slandering our homeland, the rabid anti-Soviet agents are trying to resuscitate the "the enermy image" launched across the ocean. And this at a time when the constructive Soviet peace initiatives are being welcomed on all continents, when sympathies for our country and the attraction and prestige of socialism are growing. At a time when the peace initiative launched by our country in conditions of sharp confrontation is, on the one hand, meeting with an unprecedented international response, and on the other hand coming up against the resistance of forces which are not interested in peaceful coexistence. At a time when the danger of war persists and social revenge remains the pivot of the West's strategy and its militarist programs. To please their Western patrons the provocateurs are slandering the Soviet Armed Forces which are vigilantly guarding our people's socialist gains, peace, and security. However, the pathetic attempts of the "Doveriye" group to make a frightening propaganda mountain out of a nonexistant molehill are bursting like soap bubbles.

Editorial postscript. This article was prepared in response to readers' requests following the earlier published dispatches "Forgery" and "Once Again About 'Forgery'" (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 10 December 1987 and 23 January 1988). Among the numerous reactions

there is one whose author believes that the aforementioned articles create a "breeding ground" for the emergence of new anti-Soviet groups. We cannot agree with this kind of view. We must not forget Lenin's behest always "to look truth straight in the face." Soviet people are sufficiently strong to openly combat phenomena which are alien to our society.

Krichevskiy Story Refuted

LD1505233088 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1610 GMT on 13 May carries a 45-minute program, entitled "Humanists Who Forfeit Trust." The program begins with the caption: "Not Secret: For the Soviet and World Public."

A girl identified as Ya. Shebalova is seen speaking into a microphone, saying: "I joined the peace movement because of the shocking brutality and injustice of this case."

A superimposed time and date read: "1952, 15 Apr 88." The video then shows people gathering in a street, pulling out placards and holding them aloft. The placards read: "Lev Krichevskiy—Victim of Soviet Imperialism," and "Gorbachev, Where Is Krichevskiy?" Superimposed on the screen is the time and date: "1956-8, 15 Apr 88." A black-and-white still photo of the demonstrators shows another placard: "Krichevskiy, Slandered or Dead?"

The narrator says: "Moscow. The end of the working week. Friday evening. Who are these people, gathered here in this pleasant square, Ilyinskiy Square, well known to all Muscovites? Perhaps the warm spring evening or a desire to relax with friends after the working day brought them here. Alas, no! They are here for another reason. Look at the faces of these people, who call themselves champions of peace, justice, and trust.

"Some people may be wondering whether we may not be shaking the foundations of socialism by letting these characters show what they can do. No, and once again no! You can only get rid of an abscess by lancing it. And, for the time being, the so-called Group for Establishing Trust Between East and West is continuing to operate—but not on its own.

"Now it is being watched over by Susan Wagner, second secretary of the U.S. Embassy in the USSR, who is energetically trying to collect materials regarding imaginary human rights violations in the Soviet Union. She is being helped in this only by Stevenson, another staffer of the U.S. Embassy. These gentlemen replaced U.S. Embassy staffer Matera, who was declared persona non grata in 1986. Today the group's focus of attention, and that of its friends abroad, is Lev Krichevskiy."

The video then shows typewritten documents, one entitled "Prisoners of Peace," and another signed "The 'Trust' Movement—Independent Campaigners for Peace, Freedom, and Democracy in the USSR," calling for a demonstration in support of Lev Krichevskiy in Moscow on 15 April. One line of the document reads: "The militia and KGB may try to prevent it." A French newspaper article is also seen, with a caption reading: "The strange about face by soldier Lev Krichevskiy."

A woman, identified by caption as V. Novodvorskaya, is then speaking into a microphone: "Lev Krichevskiy, a student, a deeply intelligent person, refused to serve in the Army, and was dealt with in a particularly terrible way: He was not even put in prison; he was forcibly taken into the Army, despite the fact that he refuses to do Army service and to take the military oath. He was even exempted from Army service—I know this from Mitya Eysner—and his status is difficult to define. He refused to serve in the Army, but was nevertheless taken into it. He suffered brutal treatment; he slept on a stone floor in a cell; he contracted a kidney disease. He endured a 50-day hunger strike until he lost consciousness. He was subjected to drugs. Finally, he disappeared without a trace, and even his wife, Rimma Aronova, an activist of the Trust group and participant in the democracy and humanism seminar, does not know the whereabouts of her husband. Soviet authorities refuse to give any information about him. We do not know whether he is dead or alive."

A man identified by caption as N. Khramov then says: "He is almost blind in one eye. He has 97 percent loss of vision in one eye. Despite that, he was called up into the Army. He refused to be conscripted into the Soviet Army, giving pacifist beliefs as the reason for his refusal. On 24 December 1986, however, he was taken from his home and put into a forced military service unit. For a long time attempts were made to coerce him into Army service. He refused to take the oath or perform military duties, declaring that earlier in Moscow he had objected to his conscription. His treatment was sometimes quite brutal, and as a protest against such treatment he went on hunger strike. He maintained a lengthy hunger strike, and subsequently was hospitalized in the summer of 1987."

Khramov continues: "Quite a lot of time had passed by then. He was sent to a military hospital in the town of Odintsovo, Moscow Oblast. He was then transferred to a military hospital in Podolsk, Moscow Oblast. He was under examination there for a long time. The last time hiw wife saw him was on 4 October 1987 at the military hospital in Podolsk, through a window. She could not speak to him on the grounds that it is a closed hospital.

"Since then there has been no news of Krichevskiy's fate. On 10 December 1987, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, the Ministry of Defense organ, carried an article under the title of: Fabrication. It had a subheading that said something like: How the Trust Group Fabricates Fraudulent Stories. It referred to one of the latest documents defending Lev Krichevskiy, an open letter in his defense by the Trust group. The journalist who wrote the article

said the Trust group document was a fabrication, since, according to Pustov, the article's author, Lev Krichevskiy, was serving in the Army like anybody else, performing his duties. The article's author tried to persuade readers that he had met Lev Krichevskiy and, moreover, that the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office had received a letter from Krichevskiy asking for an end to be put to the slanderous campaign unleashed around his name for unseemly purposes. This article appeared on 10 December."

Shebalova is then again seen, saying: "The journalist supposedly met this person, who turned out to be a robust lad, very healthy looking and happy, who said he was doing his Army service like anyone else and asked for the people who had organized the campaign—the comrades from the group—to be exposed for their disgraceful behavior. After the article, it proved impossible to meet the journalist: He hastily left on a sudden business trip, and we subsequently found out that no meeting with Krichevskiy had taken place. The journalist admitted that himself."

A man identified by caption as journalist V.M. Pustov then says: "On the basis of my conversation with Lev Krichevskiy, our paper ran a piece entitled: Fabrication. In it, we gave the whole story: how Lev Krichevskiy had spoken with indignation of the slander he had been subjected to by the Trust group. Soon afterward, we had a telephone call from Paris, and a staff member of the French newspaper LIBERATION said, with reference to our article, that members of the Trust group had contacted the LIBERATION editorial office rejecting everything our article had said. On that basis, (Basile Karlinski), a staff member on the paper, asked me to reply to a number of questions. The gist of the questions was as follows: Was it true that Lev Krichevskiy was liable for conscription into the Army, given his state of health, and had he really not refused to serve in the Soviet Army? I gave him detailed answers to all his questions, replying affirmatively. None of this had happened; there had been no refusal. Lev Krichevskiy was conscientiously serving in the Soviet Army, as was normal."

Novodvorskaya is again shown, saying: "We do not have any information about Lev Krichevskiy. He has disappeared without trace at the height of glasnost and democratization. You know, after this, words like that sound blasphemous. For us, glasnost and democratization are too serious. We have struggled for these concepts for 20 years; we struggled for them at a time when no one yet dared to say them out loud, or even to think such thoughts. And today, when they are profaned by the government, this disgusts us deeply, it evokes no enthusiasm in us."

Pustov is again shown, saying: "Naturally, after our paper published the article entitled Fabrication, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA received a very large number of readers' letters, from military people, retired people, young people, and so on. Many of the letters stressed the unseemly, ignoble way in which the noble word trust had been appropriated for the purpose of spreading hatred among people and the way in which a negative malicious attitude to Soviet people and the Soviet army had been expressed. In its 24 December issue, LIBERATION published a report, the heading and subheading of which could not fail to startle us. The heading, for instance, said: The Strange About-Face of Soldier Lev Krichevskiy. The subheading asserted that Lev Krichevskiy had written a letter to the Trust group in which he complained that he was being persecuted by other servicemen in the unit. No such letter existed, and literally in the next issue of the paper a denial had to be printed."

The video then shows a copy of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA from 10 December 1987, and a LIBERATION article entitled: "The Strange About-Face of Soldier Lev Krichevski."

Pustov continues: "Here is the denial. It says that Lev Krichevskiy had not written the letter, that the Trust group wrote the letter itself. But one cannot fail to note another point. Look at the heading in the paper, and the subheading. Look at the large headline. It is eye-catching and the reader remembers it. The reader remembers the false report. And now look at the subheading—just a few lines on page 10, tucked away in the middle of the paper. What reader will notice the denial? This is how the Trust group acts. It uses the name Trust, and when it draws the foreign right-wing press into its hostile anti-Soviet activity, it tries to spread mistrust and even hatred toward our country."

The video again shows the LIBERATION article about Krichevskiy, and a small paragraph correcting the original report.

A man identified by caption as A. Zavrazhnov then speaks: "Our demonstrations are broken up, and even if we submit applications to Moscow City Council, we get no reply and force is used, as happened today. Why do we go on demonstrations? We just want to tell people what an undemocratic situation, what an undemocratic system there exists today—if only in the sense that we cannot say what we think, we cannot talk about what is happening."

The program then switches to show people behind bars at what was captioned as Moscow militia station No 164. Zavrazhnov is seen shouting at the camera through the bars: "I spit on your vile communist system! You vile communists!"

The clip shows others slumpted on a bench in the militia station. A woman is shown running her hands through her hair, with the narrator saying: "These people, who call themselves campaigners for humanism, glasnost,

and trust, are now immersed in their profound activities! What a tough job they are doing now! Yes, the burden of being a prisoner of trust is a heavy one! It demands great effort!"

A caption says: "Background note: On 6 April 1988 after the latest 'group' seminar, certain of the participants were detained by the militia bodies in a state of severe alcoholic intoxication."

Zavrazhnov then continues: "We cannot say what we think, we cannot talk about what is happening. Our demonstrations are broken up in literally 2 or 3 minutes, whereas Voice of America can broadcast around the clock, and Voice of America is for the time being our only way of getting our message across."

Shebalova says: "I wrote a personal letter to the minister of defense to say that I was concerned about the fate of this young man of 20 who had been treated so unprecedentedly and so brutally. All the messages, including open letters, were sent to the Soviet authorities, including the Peace Committee, the Ministry of Defense and the Military Procurator's Office."

A uniformed man, identified by caption as V.Z. Polushkin, Lieutenant Colonel of Jurisprudence is then seen seated in an office. He says: "On 22 December 1987, our Military Procurator's Office received from the senior Procurator's Office a statement from Krivov and an open letter in defense of Lev Krichevskiy. Let me read some excerpts from this letter: Lev Krichevskiy is gravely ill; he is almost blind in his right eye. Despite that, and in the face of all the medical evidence, and contrary to the law, he was pronounced fit for Army service and sent to a military unit to do his military service. On arrival at the unit, Krichevskiy refused to take the oath and to perform his army duties. Within the period established by law, the Military Procurator's Office carried out a procuratorial check based on this statement. During the check, the facts set out in the letter were not confirmed. On arrival at his unit, Krichevskiy took the military oath in the established manner. He expressed no thought of evading Army service. His commanding officers' assessment of him is entirely positive. He has not committed any gross violations of military discipline during his dervice period. He has not been treated in hospitals. An Army medical commission pronounced him fit for operational service. After the check, the Military Procurator's Office replied to the author of the submitted statement, informing him that a procuratorial check had been carried out as a result of the open letter in defense of Private Krichevskiy. The facts set out in the letter had not taken place. Thus the procuratorial check resulting from this letter was carried out in full and within the period established by law."

The video shows the documents to which Polushkin refers.

Next Ya. Shebalova says: "The Krichevskiy case—I can say that I joined the peace movement because of the shocking brutality and injustice of this case."

V. Novodvorskaya is again shown, saying: "His parents have been struck dumb with fear. The Soviet authorities have persuaded them, as they have many parents of other rights campaigners, that if they ask questions and complain, it will only be worse for their sons and for them. They do not even dare to approach Soviet correspondents, to submit letters or ask questions. These people are simply dead to events—they are in some kind of state of suspended animation, a sort of trance, as they wait for their son's fate to be decided. This is one of the saddest pages in our sad history. The only people actively campaigning to save Lev Krichevskiy are his comrades, people of like mind and, in general, humanists concerned about the fate of an honest, bold man prepared to die for his beliefs."

Next is seen a woman identified by caption as O.V. Krichevskaya. She says: "Leva has been serving in the Army since December 1986. I have been paying regular visits to him since February. He writes to us. Although we see each other quite frequently, he writes to us. A month ago I got this birthday card from him—it was for 18 March. Here is another letter dated 21 March. I last saw him on 3 April this year."

The video then shows a card, which begins: "Dear Mom." It is dated 18 March 1988 and signed "Levka." Another letter, dated 21 March 1988 is similarly signed.

Ya. Shebalova is again shown. She says: "Without doubt the parents may know, but it is also possible they do not. This does not prevent me from going and expressing myself in defense of this person. I personally wrote a letter to the minister of defense. I am concerned about the fate of this young man of 20 who has been treated so unprecedentedly and brutally."

The narrator then says: "In Geneva, Brussles, Paris, and Bonn, credulous simpletons have been found who have swallowed the bait of the Moscow Trust group. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs has repeatedly given official replies on this."

The video then shows an "open letter" to Yazov about Krichevskiy, from Ya. Shebalova.

The narrator then says the Trust group had also claimed that Vsevolod Filipyev, a member of the group, had refused Army service in the summer of 1987 and disappeared without a trace.

The program then switches to show a man in Army uniform, captioned "V.A. Filipyev, cadet at the Lvov Higher Military Political Academy." Filmed against the Lvov skyline, he says: "They use even the smallest opportunity to fabricate a new peace prisoner. A peace prisoner is essentially someone who allegedly campaigns

for peace and for this activity is allegedly persecuted under our country's law. I was also included among these people since the opportunity arose for them to do so."

Filipyev continues that although he did not know Krichevskiy, he had no reason to doubt the version of events described in the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA article: Fabrication. Filipyev says he knew members of the Trust group "well." Group member Yevgeniya Debryanskaya, a mother of two, "simply has no time" to bring up her children, says Filipyev, who says she led an "immoral way of life." Filipyev had seen her uttering "obscenities" in front of her son, and drinking "in large quantities."

The program then shows a woman, identified by caption as Yevgeniya Debryanskaya, introducting herself. Over shots of rowdy scenes at Moscow militia station No 164, with people, including Debryanskaya, apparently unsteady on their feet, the narrator says: "A Voice of America broadcast carried the following report: The unofficial Moscow pacifist organization, the Group for Establishing Trust Between East and West, recently announced the opening of a bureau for the support of peace prisoners in the USSR."

In another interview, a man identified as Dmitriy Argunov describes how he had joined a group of hippies in 1985, then got involved in the Trust group. The group had supported his initial intention to refuse conscription. In the end, Argunov decided to go into the Army. He said that by peace and friendship, the group really meant "quarrels and enmity." He adds: "They did manage to make me into something of what they wanted, but at the same time they did not succeed. They are no doubt now seeking someone else they can fabricate something similar about."

A man identified as N. Khramov says: "We have grounds for not trusting KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, I am sorry to say. We would like to hear Lev Krichevskiy speak for himself, find out where he is, whether he is alive, and what has happened to him. That is why we went on that demosntration: We would like to hear from him, to find out at least where he is and whether he is alive."

A group of soldiers cleaning rifles is then shown. The interviewer asks one of them, later identified as Krichevskiy, how he felt when he held a rifle in his hand. Krichevskiy says he felt "respect for the combat weapon presented to us by our fathers and grandfathers."

In an interview, an officer identified as Lt Col Golovanov, the unit's chief of staff, said Lev Krichevskiy was "on matters of theory and ideology one of the soundest sergeants." Although he had only been promoted "quite recently," he was "totally justifying his promotion to that rank," Golovanov said.

There then follows an interview with Lev Krichevskiy, now captioned as such. The interviewer asks him to read out the Trust document about him and to comment on it. Krichevskiy reads: "His conscription was a repressive measure in response to his activity in the Moscow Trust group." He then says: "Well, it is true that for 6 months, roughly from June to December 1987, I mean 1986, before being called up into the Army, I was a member of the group and attended events organized by group activists. It says I am a conscientious objector. What can I say? First, I did not object to being called up into the Army. As for how they reached the conclusion that I am ill, that I am almost blind in one eye—yes, my sight is not perfect in one eye, but this does not at all prevent met from doing my Army service like everyone else, no worse than anyone else. There were no medical reason for my not being called up. It says: He was forcibly taken from his home to an Army unit in the Moscow region. Well, everything of course has again been turned upside down. It says: At first they tried to use persuasion; then he was beaten up by soldiers and junior officers, and in winter he was put into a freezing cold cell. Well, there are no cells in the Soviet Army. It says I had to sleep on a concrete floor."

An interviewer then asks: "Incidentally, what was it like sleeping on a concrete floor?"

Krichevskiy responds: "What can I say about this concrete floor? The point is that it is clear that all this was written by people who have never been in the Army and have no idea what it is like in the Army. Even if you spend time in a cell—or rather the guardroom as it is known, where I..."

The interviewer interrupts: "Is there a guardroom in your unit, by the way?"

Krichevskiy answers: "We have no guardroom in the unit, and even if there were one it would have a plank bed."

Krichevskiy then explains that it was "a tendency typical of all the Armed Forces" to "try to minimize, where possible, the use of methods of compulsion" to achieve discipline.

He continues reading the document and commenting: "He received a bayonet blow. Well, this is terrible. It says: In protest over this violent treatment, he went on indefinite hunger strike in May; It lasted 51 days. Well, you can see for yourself how I look—I don't have to persuade you. It says: It was forcibly stopped when he was already unconscious, after which he was taken to a military hospital."

Krichevskiy then discusses sports he plays in the Army, and continues reading the Trust document, which says his whereabouts were unknown and that no one knew whether he was alive. Krichevskiy comments: "What can I say? As you can see, I am alive and well. I feel fine, and

I hope to complete my Army service normally. It really is an outlandish situation when they take a person who is alive and pass him off as dead, without even telling him why this is being done and what they mean by this. I only have a vague idea of what this was about. Above all, this is very unpleasant, because my name and the fact that I am in the Army are being used quite blatantly."

After further comments about the Trust group, Krichevskiy says: "When I found out about this widespread campaign, well, I still have not really worked it out, because, really, I cannot fit it all together in my mind, the heaping up of some slander, inventions, and lies."

The interviewer then asks Krichevskiy about his responsibilities as a junior sergeant; Krichevskiy dwells on the trust that those under him must feel. A lance corporal was asked about those he admired in his outfit; he notes Krichevskiy as one of his good friends.

The program closes with brief comments by members of the Trust group about Krichevskiy's terrible fate, interspersed with shots of Krichevskiy playing football and eating in the cafeteria with this friends. Over still photos of Trust group members in the street carrying placards demanding justice for Krichevskiy, the narrator says: "It is now clear who these people are and what they want. The humanists from the Trust organization do not inspire trust. Let us hope that our position will be properly understood by both Soviet and world public, so that fewer simpletons will swallow the Trust group's bait."

Yevtushenko Criticizes People's Forbearance

PM1305154088 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 May 88 p 13

[Yevg. Yevtushenko article under the rubric "The Writer and Society": "Forbearance"]

[Text] 1.

I do not remember when and from whom I first heard this very Russian, tragically meaningful word. But recently I was reminded of it again.

"Sorry it's such a small present, Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich, but these days it's a precious commodity...." said a distant relative of my people, putting on the May Day table a package of sugar, which has almost disappeared. And this in the 71st year of Soviet power, more than 40 years after the war! And I suddenly caught myself experiencing the petty, domestic, greedy pleasure of acquisition, which, for many of us, has taken the place of real pleasure in living. And the woman who had given me the sugar sighed: "Look what we've come to.... And it is all the fault of our wretched forbearance [priterpelost]...."

I could not have put it better myself.

The word is not in Dal's dictionary, he only cites the verb from the same root: "The blacksmith's hand has learned to bear [priterpelas k] the fire." Here, in the verb, there is respect for endurance [the verb "priterpetsya," "to grow accustomed to," is cognate with "terpet," meaning "to suffer, endure"]. But if one woman asks another: "Well, how are things with your husband? Is he still drinking and beating you up?" and the other replies, with downcast eyes: "It doesn't matter, I'm used to bearing it [priterpelas]," there is no respect here for her endurance, but only a complete and utter sense of hopelessness, the overwhelming force of habit.

There is a kind of endurance that should be respected—the endurance of their pains by mothers giving birth, the endurance of true creators in their work, the endurance of those who suffer insults for the sake of truth, the endurance of those who refuse to name their friends under torture.... But there is also a pointless, humiliating kind of endurance. Lack of respect for one's own endurance, when it develops into civic wrath, means the resurrection of an individual or a nation. But it is a terrible thing when lack of respect for one's own endurance turns into stupefied forbearance. What kind of self-respect can there be here? And how can we respect ourselves, when every day we tolerate such a lack of respect toward us? Every waiting line, every shortage is society's lack of respect for itself.

As a means of salvation, we have grown accustomed to attributing society's shortcomings to others, especially the government. Now, thank heavens, we have begun to talk not only about Stalin's personal guilt, but also about the guilt of his immediate entourage in crimes against the people. I am not in favor of hastily renaming every city and street in a panic, but all the same I cannot understand why, for instance, the inscription "named for Zhdanov" has yet to be removed from the doors of Leningrad State University, when he injured those great Leningraders Akhmatova and Zoshchenko, and why the totally innocent Mariupol [now Zhdanov] must bear that shameful name. And when I walk along Kalinin Prospect in Moscow, I cannot help thinking about the time when the "chief man of the union" was presenting orders in the Kremlin, while his wife, who had been declared an "enemy of the people," was, according to an eyewitness, picking lice out of the seams in prisoners' shirts with a piece of glass. But let us be honest and admit that it was not only the ruling clique that was guilty before the people, but the people themselves, who allowed the clique to do whatever it liked with them. To permit a crime to occur is a form of complicity in it. And we were historically accustomed to permitting things—to forbearance. Even now, there is too much of a tendency to shove everything onto the bureaucracy. If we endure it, then it serves us right. According to Dal's dictionary, one meaning of the word "to endure" ["terpet"] is to tolerate. Forbearance is tolerance, complicity.

Take that seemingly "trivial" matter—the disappearance of sugar. This can, of course, be remedied, and perhaps by the day of this article's publication the

not-so-sweet sugar problem will have been resolved. But who is to blame for it? The Central Committee? The Council of Ministers? They too, of course. But are you and I not to blame? Is the party not to blame? Are the people not to blame? Today we show forbearance about the disappearance of first one product, then another. But is this forbearance on this comparatively minor matter really surprising, when only yesterday we tolerated the disappearance of so many people? A major scientist departs this life, committing suicide when at the height of his powers, and we are afraid to wonder aloud, publicly: What happened to him, why did we lose him? Forbearance toward silence about the causes leads to repetition of the consequences.

Let us study, for instance, the reason why sugar has become a sadly precious gift for International Working People's Solidarity Day.

The new leadership, unlike its predecessors, is acutely aware of the key significance of statistics in the national economy. Rather than burying their heads, ostrich-like, in the sand, our leaders for the first time looked the statistical truth about alcoholism and its conseqeunces fearlessly in the eyes, and were horrified. A tough, radical decision was adopted. But unfortunately righteous emotions were not backed up by a farsighted, scrupulously drawn up plan. They made the decision with pure hearts, but they were too hasty.

It is the duty of leaders to serve the people. But the people sometiems forget that it is their duty to help the leaders. Why did our much-vaunted public not help the government by advising it not to hurry, why did it not insist on an elementary sociological analysis and a nationwide discussion of the measures for combating alcoholism before those measures were adopted? The semblance of a discussion was organized in the old way, by the method of angling for votes in support.

Sometimes I wonder bitterly: What would have happened if a party and government resolution on combating temperance had come out in the 1 April issue of PRAVDA? Doubtless there would have been "loyal party soldiers" who would speedily have organized "large rallies of working people" in support of the "historic decision." An all-union "Drunkenness" society would have been created, and more than likely one of its leaders would have been a hastily "reformed" former teetotaler, just as at present some of the leaders of the "Temperance" society are supposedly reformed alcoholics. The words "nondrinker" and "morally stable" would have been contraindications for trips abroad. The brave inspectors of the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate would have set about confiscating the driving licenses of all the drivers who did not smell of vodka. I can picture the comradely courts' show trials of nondrinkers, the reprimands for party members spotted immorally consuming mineral water in restaurants!... This whole absurd fantasy is, unfortunately, easy to imagine. I am sure that if, in that same 1 April issue, I was named as a spy, or someone else, Rikki-Tikki-Tavi, say, then good people would soon come forward to confirm it with patriotic ecstasy. Oh, how deeply rooted it is in our society, this forbearance toward the trimmers and chameleons who are ready to adapt to any decision coming from "up top." But they do not even respect those "up top," and they are prepared to betray anyone who falls from the "top."

What about, for instance, a literary man who affects venerability, who, under one party leader in the capital, assumed that man's conservative views, under another, assumed his ultraradical views, and now, just in case, assumes calculatedly average views—somewhere between N. Andreyeva's article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and the critique of that article in PRAVDA (who knows which way the times will swing).

"Flatterers, flatterers! Try to preserve a noble bearing even in your baseness."

Sometimes even collective letters in support of restructuring are signed by some people in the secret hope that restructuring will fall through.

The first method of retarding restructuring is sabotage disguised as support.

The second method is to stifle it by embracing it too hard.

The idea of combating alcoholism is the right idea in principle, but people stifled it in rapturous embraces and ruined it with false, hypocritical enthusiasm, instead of helping to promote serious, nationwide thought about a serious, chronic disease of our society. Chronic, deep-seated diseases cannot be cured just like that, by surgical intervention. Many of our campaigns and reforms collapse because we substitute crude social surgery for continuous social prophylactic treatment.

The steeplejacks of Paris, in their lunch break, perch on the framework of the Eiffel Tower, cheerfully wash down the traditional long loaf and cheese with light red wine, and just imagine, they do not fall off, and no trade union or party organization binds them hand and foot, accusing them of immorality. The long-lived people of the Caucasus also drink, only not "moonshine" or "marc," but pure, natural wine, and they do not fall from the hills into the ditches. The prevention of alcoholism, I believe, must lie not in puritanical policing, but in a general improvement in cultural standards.

A bottle of "moonshine" or "marc" can be a poisoner. A bottle of good wine can be a good companion. But they automatically started reducing wine production, mercilessly uprooting valuable vines. Alcoholism, when it

becomes a socially dangerous condition, must be compulsorily treated. But who has the right to take away from a man who is not an alcoholic his right to a glass of beer after work or a glass of good dry wine or champagne?

All the classical writers of Marxism-Leninism liked beer.

Pushkin liked champagne.

Why were all the people, en masse, suspected of alcoholism, and after all the other waiting lines, which were humiliating enough, were plunged into new lines many hours long? There have been ludicrous cases of people being expelled from the Komsomol for drinking champagne at a wedding. Certain distributors, half-crazy with public-spirited zeal, cut from the movie "A Man's Life" ["Sudba Cheloveka"] the episode where a Soviet soldier drinks a glass of vodka as a token of scorn for the Hitlerites. Actors were recommended not to read Pushkin's "Let Us Raise Our Glasses, Lift Them All Together!"

The reason is our forbearance toward the unthinking fulfillment of all decisions.

But this is only apparent fulfillment. Unthinking fulfillment sabotages the new thinking. There have been positive results too: They have put an end to "marc," there are fewer drunkards collapsing in the streets. But in the waiting lines it is not only time that is wasted and people's nerves that suffer, people themselves suffer. The first drastic measures played a positive role as shock therapy. But social shock therapy cannot take place daily over a long period—society's nervous system collapses and many unforeseen ills arise. Grandmothers, selling a couple of waiting lines a day at R5 each, receive the same wages as doctors of science. A bottle of vodka in a cab at night is worth R25. The state price is steep enough already, and all those who like to warm their hands by any shortage add and add to it. Aren't there enough solid shortages, without having to add a liquid one too? All this has a terrible effect not so much on the drunkards themselves as on their wives and children, who sometimes eke out an existence in semistarvation because drink is so expensive.

The struggle against alcoholism has been replaced by a struggle against legal vodka, legal wine, and legal beer. State vodka and wine, which deteriorated considerably in recent years but are nevertheless more or less tried and tested, have given way to moonshine—sometimes made from goodness knows what—after-shave, and corn treatment lotion. This will have and is already having grave genetic consequences. What will a child conceived under the influence of antifreeze be like? Salvador Dali was a long way from the hellish surrealism in which people spread shoe cream on a slice of bread, blissfully inhale dikhlofos [meaning unknown: possibly the pesticide dichlorvos] from a plastic bag over their heads, and sink into nirvana with the help of "Moment" glue.

I confess, when I was shivering to my very bones in Kamchatka, I swallowed some local moonshine made from tomato paste. The next day the joints in my feet were so swollen with arthritis that I was really howling, and the doctor, coming to the rescue with a hydrocortisone injection, made an accurate diagnosis: "It's our local tomato juice." In Provideniya Bay they make, in my opinion, the best beer in the country, as good, even, as Czech beer, but they are sanctimoniously making them reduce it to a minimum, as in other cities. As a result, last year on 7 November the local border band played festive marches to the accompaniment of 3-liter bottles of homebrewed beer exploding on people's windowsills, which made the neighboring U.S. shores quake. In the north the most popular people are those who have access to spirit: helicoptermen and physicians. A sable fur is worth no more than a bottle. But spirit is as rare as Courvoisier, not only in the north but all over the country. A great deal of precious work time is wasted by our doctors today because they have to write out prescriptions for every trifling mixture or drops containing even a tiny amount of spirit. Prescribing spirit or vodka compresses is banned. So is it surprising if sugar has suddenly disappeared? It was bound to disappear. And ought not society as a whole, all of us, you and me, and not only the government, to have foreseen this?

Society needs not only lookouts, but also seers.

A society is only democratic in the fullest sense when the whole of it—from top to bottom—feels itself to be the government, rather than an upper stratum from which people first wait slavishly for instructions, and which is then blamed for any mistakes. Your own cowardly irresponsibility—that is what lies behind unquestioning, boot-licking obedience. The development of the masses' creative initiative is incompatible with forbearance toward initiative only from above. The nauseating didactic approach of forcibly goading people to be socially active has reduced our society to an ironic passivity. Forbearance toward passivity, while nipping in the bud the potential positive energy of many talented people, at the same time provides a nutrient medium for the negative energy of scoundrels engaging in pseudoactivity. The submissive motto of passivity: "I am only a little man, what can I do!" But if you justify your cowardice by claiming that you can do nothing, then you cannot complain and you cannot make demands, either! Don't thrust out a begging hand, if you can't clench it into a fist! We have had enough of endless letters and protests to the "top," it is time to go over to letters and protests to the "bottom"—to ourselves, against ourselves. The killers of restructuring are among us. We are killing restructuring with our civic timidity, our tendency to wait and see who will win....

One major journalist came to me yesterday agitated and nervous: "You have a good instinct.... What's going to happen at the party conference?" He was dead wrong about my instinct. I used to have a good instinct, but it's gone. Many times I expected the best, but things turned

out for the worst. My instinct is ruined: Of course, I hope to the best, but I expect the worst, just in case. I hate this in myself, but what can I do! It is not only me—a great many instincts have been cruelly flattened by history. But I answered my guest: "What's going to happen? What happens will depend on how you and I behave...."

Restructuring will depend on how we behave.

If we are half-hearted, it will be half a restructuring.

If we build with rotten clapboard—restructuring will collapse.

If we each pull a blanket over ourselves—restructuring will grow numb with cold.

In relation to restructuring, I am not a nonparty person—I am in the restructuring party. There are a good many nonparty members of the restructuring party. But we must acknowledge the bitter truth: Many party members are not in the restructuring party. If a party member supports or even half-supports such attempts to reverse the course of history as justifying or semijustifying Stalinism's crimes against the people, slinging more mud at those who have just been rehabilitated, and demanding that glasnost be gagged, he should not use ideological interests as a cover. What is done in the interests of your own disappearing comfortable niche is not ideology, but nicheology.

Between the restructurers and the antirestructurers there is, unfortunately, a group that is by no means small, whom I would call the "moaners." They are constantly moaning that there is no sugar or whatever, but at the same time they do not lift so much as a finger, but look on inc[illegible]ently as people try to stifle restructuring. They want their living conditions to improve, but reducing all civic sentiments purely to moaning about living conditions could mean that they will find themselves back at an empty trough from which not even pigs can eat. It is time people realized that material and political restructuring do not have a separate existence. If you do not defend democracy, it is no use demanding democracy.

...So that was the instructive result of our forbearance in the individual, but rather sad, case where on May Day 1988, to the sound of the restructuring slogans in Red Square on the television, I received a reproachfully rare gift—a package of sugar, as if the war was still going on...a war of attrition, a war that has worn us down...a war not against someone else, but against ourselves...

2.

In 1965 a show based on my poem "The Bratsk GES" was in rehearsal at the Theater on Malaya Bronnaya. Part of the poem went like this:

Russia is famed for her endurance.

Growing, it became heroism.

They seasoned her, like clay, with blood,

And she simply endured.

To the bargee, his shoulder worn by the towrope,

To the exhausted plowman in the steppe,

She whispered, with a mother's tenderness,

The age-old refrain: "Endure, my son, endure..."

Myself, I usually read these verses with a kind of sacrificial, romantic enthusiasm, admiring our people's long endurance as if it were a feat. And then the remarkable actress L. Sukharevskaya, at a rehearsal, read this section in a tone of accusatory venom that stunned me.

I can understand how Russia, for so many years,

Endured famine and cold

And the inhuman torments of cruel wars,

And the burden of labor beyond her powers,

And parasites of utmost falsity,

And every kind of deceiving and lying,

What I cannot comprehend is: How did she endure

Her own endurance?!

I usually read the last two lines with breathless, emotional rapture, but Sukharevskaya read them angrily, indignant at endurance as the cause of so many troubles in our history. The actress understood the author's poem better than he himself.

"If it endures enough, even a jug will wear out," "if it endures enough, even a stone will crack"—the popular sayings are biting, but apt. Three hundred years under the Tatars and three hundred years under the Romanovs cultivated not only the heroic endurance that culminated in the explosions of people's uprisings, but also the servile kind of endurance—forbearance. The first Russian revolution, which is not, unfortunately, called that in any of the textbooks, was the abolition of serfdom. But Russia was the last country in Europe to abolish serfdom, and it leaped into socialism from autocratic feudalism, almost bypassing the experience of bourgeois democracy. In the move from torchlit peasant huts to the communal apartment of socialism, the bugs of feudalism and slavery were brought along too, in the wooden trunks. Many chiefs acted like "red feudalists," taking from the peasants not only their land, but also their passports, which had a familiar odor of serfdom. The collectivization, which, with its forcible implementation,

violated Lenin's precepts of voluntariness, was a gross flouting of the slogans "give the land to the peasants" and "all power to the soviets." The promised gates of paradise proved to be a trap. After the harsh treatment of the peasants who were declared kulaks, wiped out, and sent to the ends of the earth, the subsequent mass cruelty and trumped-up trials began to be a habit. Forbearance developed.

Many kinds of forbearance gradually developed—toward repressions, arbitrary taxes, compulsory subscriptions to loan bonds, the image of the "best friend of Soviet sports teachers" [presumably one of Stalin's many epithets, here used sarcastically], the confiscation of seed grain, the transformation of churches into storehouses for vegetables, the Iron Curtain, and the pinning of offensive labels on scientists, composers, and writers and on whole areas of science and even entire sciences, such as cybernetics, for instance. The best people were cut down. It was all like a nightmare in which a wicked gang, with the aim of cutting down the most pure-bred horses, roams the stables by night, wielding axes. Horses as a species survived, but many of them turned out to be horses with the mentality of mice. There is still much to be done to restore our own, human race, that suffered such damage. Today slavish blood does not need squeezing out drop by drop, it needs baling out in bucketfuls. We cannot allow ourselves to endure our own endurance. Forbearance is the main brake on restructuring.

Pasternak wrote these lines:

Let us part, woman, you who defy

The sea of humiliations!

I am your battlefield.

Forbearance is surrender to the "sea of humiliations."

Mutual humiliations are like a mass of vipers thrown by some evil hand into many families. The vipers of boorishness and coarseness crawl out of these apartments into the street, slither into the subway, and curl up on secretaries' desks and store assistants' counters.

Our daily life has turned into a "sea of humiliations." First we abase ourselves to obtain an apartment. Having eventually received the authorization for the hard-won apartment, we weep, when we see it, from humiliation before it is redecorated. We abase ourselves in the trade jungle in the hunt for wallpaper, mixing faucets, toilet pans, and door latches, and at the sight of a Yugoslav lampshade or a Romanian sofa bed a gleam appears in our pupils like the gleam in the eyes of Shere Khan the tiger as he sinks his claws into the longed-for antelope. When a child is born, we abase ourselves to get it into a creche and kindergarten and obtain pacifiers, diapers, disposable diapers, children's tights, a baby carriage, a toboggan, a playpen. We abase ourselves in stores, at the hairdresser's, in workshops, dry cleaning shops, service stations, restaurants, hotels, theater box offices, and Aeroflot offices, at the "Zarya" firm, and at television, refrigerator, and sewing machine repair shops, trampling on our own self-esteem, ingratiating ourselves, then making a scene, and then ingratiating ourselves again. All the time we are trying to force our way through or insinuate ourselves to somewhere or other, trying to cadge something or other, like miserable suppliants tiresomely pestering the "rulers of this world." Sometimes it seems that all the people in our country are merely the servants of the service sphere.

It is humiliating that to this day we cannot feed ourselves, but have to buy extra grain, butter, meat, fruit, and vegetables from abroad. The coupon system in many areas is our shame.

It is humiliating that to this day we cannot dress ourselves well, but chase after foreign rags. The clothes that many of us wear are like a geographical atlas. But all the "Cardins" and "Burdas" will not save us. We should do our own sewing, in such a way that the Soviet people are not ashamed of their clothes and shoes.

It is humiliating that to this day we do not have enough medical supplies to treat our people. It is distressing to see war veterans going to the pharmacy decked out in all their orders and medals to create an impressive effect, but the medicines indicated in their prescriptions are still not available. It is terrible to see mothers dashing from pharmacy to pharmacy like injured birds with prescriptions for their children, while the pharmacists lower their eyes before them. The shortage of medicines is a betrayal of human lives.

The shortage of books is humiliating—it is a betrayal of the human spirit.

The shortage of computers is humiliating—it is a betrayal of modern technological thinking.

The "registration" system is humiliating—artificially pinning people to certain places, despite the fact that the Constitution guarantees freedom of movement. But given the geographical unevenness of distribution of elementary goods, registration is—alas!—our salvation, otherwise Moscow would become a city of 20 million inhabitants, but with a supply system like long-suffering Yaroslavl's.

The system of exit visas for going abroad is humiliating, and does not fulfill the Constitution, despite all assurances that it was being simplified. The gates should be flung wide open for everyone who wants to depart for good, with the exception of special cases involving state secrets. Keeping people here by force is humiliating. But not all who wish to leave should be counted as enemies! And if they have done nothing to injure the motherland, they should be given the opportunity to come back on visits or for good. Why should not every citizen of the USSR be issued with a Soviet foreign passport for, say, a

3-year term, with the permanent right of exit on official business, on tourist trips, or by invitation. Having a Soviet passport in your hands should in itself constitute an official recommendation for travel.

But worst of all is when, having been humiliated by someone else, we ourselves start humiliating others by way of cheap compensation. Humiliating others is like the worst form of drug addiction.

Glasnost is a declaration of war on the "sea of humiliations." Glasnost is war for man's social dignity. A person has the right to like whatever music he wants, to dress however he wants, to have his hair cut however he wants.

The pluralism of socialist glasnost means the cultivation of toleration (tolerance). But tolerance must not become forbearance toward any form of humiliation of man by man.

The antirestructurers try to denounce our young, but maturing, glasnost by interpreting it as the discrediting of the gains of socialism. Yet glasnost is in itself one of the gains of socialism. The question of the standard of debate has rightly been raised in PRAVDA. Kitchen sink squabbles do indeed damage our literature. But the struggle for high-quality debates must in no circumstances turn into a struggle against debates. Viewpoints should be expressed, not disguised. It is therefore a good thing that readers have come to know the various viewpoints on today's social process, including P. Proskurin's thesis on "necrophilia" and Yu. Bondarev's thesis on the need for a new "Stalingrad" on the ideological front.

In this sense we should also be grateful for the publication of D. Urnov's article about Pasternak's novel "Doctor Zhivago." The author of the article, who has just been appointed chief editor of the journal VOPROSY LITERATURY, absolutely slams the novel politically and artistically, even going so far as to call the poems from the novel a "stylization of poetry that was current at the time" and to compare Doctor Zhivago with the immoral renegade Klim Samgin. This is what the article says about Pasternak's beloved hero: "Doctor Zhivago should have been pinned against the wall and put in his place." This article makes a bizarre impression—as if a speech at the meeting that expelled Pasternak had been published, 30 years late. No, the days when literary heroes and their creators were pinned against the wall have gone, forever, I hope. The rehabilitation of Pasternak and many other unjustly discredited citizens of our society is irreversible, and must not turn into re-rehabilitation. We must not give up this great gain of glasnost—our spiritual restructuring.

Spiritual restructuring and economic restructuring should be equal mutual guarantees. Unfortunately, at the moment economic restructuring is lagging severely behind. But people try to compromise it too, like glasnost, to hobble it, intimidate it, wear it down. The economy, like literature, has its untouchable "sacred cows" which, while pretending to defend the people's interests, in fact defend their own feeding troughs. Today glasnost must help the economy, since it is the laggard. Tomorrow, if the going gets tough for glasnost, the regenerated economy will lend it its mighty shoulder. Without personal initiative and big individual personalities, there can be no progress either in glasnost or in the economy. And while the "foolish penguin timidly hides its plump body among the cliffs," glasnost, like the storm petrel, "lightning-like," awakens the people's civic conscience.

The English language has a word "image," which translates literally as "obraz," meaning image in the political sense, rather than the poetic sense. Each of the U.S. presidential candidates has a whole team of psychologists, sociologists, and politicians working on creating his image. Any political system, any country also concerns itself with its image. Of course, a cunningly constructed image can be skillfully applied greasepaint, or a mask covering a sore.

The Iron Curtain between East and West created a fascinating and frightening image for our country over many years. Our people's feat in the struggle against Hitler gave that image an aura of heroism. The Khrushchev thaw added to that aura a glimmer of hope for mutual understanding between peoples. The terrible truth about the Stalinist camps, arrests of dissidents, the abuse of psychiatry, the exile of Academician Sakharov, our troops in Afghanistan—all this, put together and given a particular emphasis by the Western reactionary press, had the effect of dispelling the heroic aura, bringing matters almost to the point of the Antichrist image of the "evil empire." But now, thanks to our country's peaceful initiatives on nuclear disarmament, glasnost, and the democratization of our life, that "Antichrist" image has begun to crumble.

We need neither cosmetics nor a mask to cover our face, so as to please foreigners by pulling the wool over their eyes. Of course, it would be nice for our country to attract the sympathies of mankind, only not by means of lies, but by means of the truth it brings the world. But first and foremost, it would be nice if we ourselves were pleased by our country. We love it, we are proud of its cultural and revolutionary traditions. But not all traditions are good. We must discard as a bad tradition that concept that is incompatible with restructuring — "forbearance."

Agricultural

Gorbachev, Farmers Discuss Sufficiency Goal

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[TASS report: "The Lease Contract Is the Quickest Route to Food Sufficiency. Meeting in the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] As already reported, a meeting took place at the CPSU Central Committee on 13 May with workers from contract collectives of the agro-industrial complex, leaders of agro-industrial combines, agro-industrial firms, science-and-production systems, and farms, first secretaries of party raykoms, soviet workers, and agricultural specialists.

Opening the meeting, M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, said:

Dear comrades, we have invited you to the party Central Committee to discuss a major, vitally important matter. I am talking about the food question.

However the modern world may develop, however much progress may be accelerated, and whatever heights today's civilization may reach, the eternal question of food was and is ever present. The job of a tiller of the soil is therefore also eternal. The fruits of man's labor on the land are the most essential prerequisite for every society, whatever its level of development.

Ours is a vast country. It has great potential for the development of all sectors of the economy in the people's interests, and that includes the production of the necessary agricultural products. There is no point in concealing the fact that as yet they are in short supply.

Since we have set about restructuring our entire society and want to change its nature, we must make the people's life spiritually full and well-provided for from the viewpoint of the social conditions of people's life.

Naturally, among all the important problems the food question is a priority. This is how we look at it: It is bad that things have dragged on to such an extent that we have not yet reached a cardinal solution to this problem.

Of course, we can explain the origins of any phenomenon. We know why we have this situation in the countryside today. I would say that all the same, the main reason why we have not resolved the food question to this day lies in our attitude toward this sphere of our economy—toward agriculture, and the agrarian sector in general. We must speak frankly about this yet again. Given that the labor of the tiller of the soil, the grain grower, was undervalued, this undervaluation was also manifested regarding kolkhozes and the social development of the countryside. That affected the overall results. Yet the potential inherent in our kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in our kolkhoz system, is truly enormous.

You remember, we held a CPSU Central Committee plenum in May 1982. Before that time, for nearly 7-8 years agriculture had basically been marking time. If you take into account that even before that, it had not developed as rapidly as all that, you could say that a difficult situation had arisen by 1982. That was why it was decided to hold a plenum then.

The whole of society felt that something must be done. I will not say the plenum decided everything, I will not say that at that plenum we realized all our intentions, but all the same it substantially boosted our agricultural, agrarian work. First and foremost because a realistic approach was adopted. The comprehensive approach to the matter prevailed. Questions of the material and technical base were examined, a major 10-year program for the social development of the countryside was approved, and questions of labor incentives in agriculture were resolved—for machine operators, stockmen, and specialists. Questions were resolved relating to the organizational aspect of this very complex sphere of the economy, in which it is necessary to act in a special way, taking account of its specific features, rather than imitating the methods of industry or construction. That is only natural, agriculture has direct links with living nature and is highly dependent on a great many factors. Decisions and approaches relating to this sector must also take into account the great diversity of natural and climatic conditions in our regions.

And of course, it was necessary to consider how, on the basis of what approach, to organize the management of this sector of the economy. All this was discussed at the plenum, and a step was taken in the right direction. The May plenum laid the foundations of an attentive, serious, responsible attitude to the development of the agrarian sector. It must be said that this had an effect. Look how after the May plenum, despite all the difficulties—droughts, flooding, frost damage to crops over huge areas—agriculture's progress onward and upward began to be more smooth. That is the first thing that should be said.

Second, in that time people's initiative developed substantially. You, the people involved in innovative work in the countryside, the initiators of new forms and new approaches in tackling the food problem, you know that well. I have in mind the fact that leaders and representatives of contract units, teams, and collectives operating under the family contract system are present here. Many of you have concluded lease contracts and become involved in tackling the new tasks facing the agro-industrial sector.

All this, comrades, became possible after the May plenum. But what came of it, what was the result? Take the growth indicators. They have improved recently. There are fewer and fewer loss-making farms, both production and economic indicators are increasing. Slowly, perhaps, but matters are improving. However, this progress had as its starting point a level of food production which did not satisfy us. Therefore it is necessary to grow more rapidly, as if we had begun our progress from a level where, say, the food problem had been more or less resolved. Then our task would have been to maintain that level and provide produce only for the population increase. But what happened was this: The population grew, it demanded more produce, but we still had to reach the level that we defined as the minimum for the Food Program.

So it transpires that although things are changing for the better in our agrarian sector, in agriculture, we cannot yet say, comrades, that we have achieved the necessary pace.

That is what worries the party Central Committee and the government. The rate of progress, the rate of growth in agricultural produce in the country does not satisfy us.

Problems like the food problem or the provision of goods and housing to the population are very important, since they directly affect the life of every family, every Soviet person. Therefore they must without fail be tackled whatever the difficulties of the present stage, in which we are making the transition from an extensive to an intensive economy, in which we are mastering new methods of managing the economy, in which we are carrying out a profound modernization of all its sectors. On the basis of the achievements of science and technology, we must tackle these problems, not put them off until many years hence. We must tackle them more quickly than other matters. That is how we formulated the question at the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum of last year. Now we can see that the whole party and all the people approved that approach.

Solid work is now under way in all these three areas. Remember this fact, comrades. For three 5-year plans the volume of housing construction remained basically at the same level. But now, in 2 years we have increased it by 13 percent and commissioned 10 million apartments. We have uncovered tremendous potential for this through state capital investments as well as through individual and cooperative housing construction, involving the working people themsleves in the problem. It has worked. Especially with those who are resourceful and businesslike, who have set about tackling this problem in a concrete way. We can see that a good start has been made.

Providing the people with goods is a very difficult matter. What are trade turnover, goods, quality? They are the end result of the work of the entire economy. It was necessary, comrades, to draw the attention of all the leaders of labor collectives in the country to the need to orient themselves toward the end result. Inasmuch as we declared at the 27th party congress that we must give a greater social thrust to our plans, we are applying this approach to practical work too.

Here too a change has begun, frankly a difficult, tough change. Not everyone has properly grasped everything yet. Take, for instance, Minister A.A. Yezhevskiy. We criticize him not only because he has not yet given the kolkhozes and sovkhozes modern machinery, but also because the sector's enterprises play only a poor part in increasing consumer goods production. Yet they could do much!

Why have I mentioned the USSR Ministry of Agricultural and Tractor Machine Building [as published]? Because we believe that everyone should take part in resolving the problem of goods, from little local enterprises and cooperatives to defense sectors. Everyone should work for the country, for the people, everyone should tackle this question, because it involves satisfying Soviet people's vitally important requirements.

But things are also changing here. Large-scale work is now under way to modernize light industry. Here we are moving toward the implementation of major measures. I think the new cooperatives will also make a contribution. We can already feel this today. They are tackling the weak points that exist in our economy, covering the gaps that have formed as a result of omissions and old-fashioned approaches to economic questions. We have now introduced new incentives and new approaches, we have brought in the state acceptance system to tackle this problem. All this will, I believe, help us progress toward a situation where we have more goods, of a wider range and higher quality.

Comrades, the entire restructuring, in view of its enormous scale, will take a certain time, because it is necessary to move the entire economy to a new scientific and technical level, change its nature, and transform the country's production forces. That means it is necessary first of all to resolve the tasks of modernizing machine building. Through machine building this will affect the remaining sectors of the national economy on an ever increasing scale. We will thereby open up the path to the introduction of new technologies—technologies that are economical and resource-saving and ensure the attainment of good quality output. That means that it will take time for this whole mechanism to get under way, for all our intentions to be realized in structural policy. Of course, every year will give us more and change the face of our national economy. But to reach the stage where a qualitative change in our entire production apparatus takes place will take a certain number of years.

But comrades, we cannot postpone the resolution of the problems I am talking about, first and foremost the food problem. One could put it like this: If the country and the people so badly need a rapid solution to this problem, then let the country and the people pay even more attention to this sector. I think this is now understood at the center, at the republican and oblast levels, and in the labor collectives throughout the country. The importance of this sector, the importance of the social development of the countryside, is understood. We are implementing large-scale plans in this direction. I will not say they will remove all the problems at once, no, here too it will take time. We will continue to strengthen the material and technical base and improve the living conditions of rural workers. These approaches will undoubtedly further the positive processes that have taken shape in the countryside.

But is it right to talk about making substantial progress in resolving the food question in 2 or 3 years, as we said at the Central Committee June Plenum? Comrades, we did not arrive at that simply under pressure of the facts, and it was not merely to reassure people that we put forward the slogan of substantially changing the state of affairs with food in the country in 2 or 3 years. No. We comprehensively studied and analyzed the potential that our agrarian sector has today. All those years when the countryside was showing too little increase in agricultural output, it was nevertheless receiving new capital and some assistance in social development. Nowadays our people in the countryside are educated and capable of mastering new machinery and technology. In short, we must obtain a return on the potential already accumulated in the countryside.

Take a region like the non-Chernozem, which is still in a poor state and in need of assistance. Here serious blunders were made in the development of production forces, and for decades everything was oriented toward the development of industry, which led to the depopulation of the non-Chernozem countryside. But even here, those who have really set about the task on the basis of new approaches are achieving staggering results. We are coming to the conclusion that this will be one of the most guaranteed agricultural regions, if we help the land and help the people living on the land, provide them with housing, in a word, create appropriate social conditions for them. First and foremost, we will resolve the problem of roads in the non-Chernozem. Let me observe that even in the course of the 5-year plan we have found R37 billion for road building. We have brought in all our mightiest organizations, even the military construction workers, to resolve this task. There will be changes, comrades. But as for other regions, even more potential has been accumulated there—in Belorussia, the Baltic region, the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, the Volga region, Kazakhstan, Siberia. I will not list them all.

As a result of a detailed analysis it is necessary to put the question bluntly, so to speak: The potential already accumulated must yield a return. The experience of the work of contract collectives has particularly convinced us of that fact. I have made a close study of the results of your work, what you have managed to do in 1, 2, 3, or at most 5 years of work under the new conditions of organization and incentives. I can only express my admiration to you. Yet can it be that previously—1 or 2 years ago—you who are sitting here today understood nothing and didn't know how to work on the land? I doubt it. I am even confident that this was not the case. The experience of the past 2-3 years has shown particularly that our [Soviet] man is ready to assume the difficult burden of resolving the food question and to show initiative, innate sharpness of wit, and expertise so as to boost the countryside.

It is astonishing when for decades 20-30 specialists on a particular kolkhoz or sovkhoz increase yields by 1-2 quintals, that is, they are just marking time. Then along come people who either lease or rent under a family contract the land and other means of production and conclude contracts with the farm leadership based on certain principles, and over 1 year or at most 2 years they increase yields by 10-15 quintals and milk yields from 2,500 kg to 5,000 or 6,000 kg. On the same large livestock unit the collective working in the same building produces 4,100 kg of milk per animal from a given group of heifers while alongside them their comrades not working under the family contract achieve only 2,500 kg per animal.

These new and efficient forms of labor organization have now been approved everywhere and the whole country has experience of them. You, comrades, have confirmed by your own experience the correctness of the task posed by the CPSU Central Committee and the government—within 2-3 years to achieve a resolute increase in agriculture and to make substantial progress in food production and the implementation of the Food Program in the country. This must be done by relying on the experience which the entire country now possesses in all areas of the agrarian sector.

We put the question in these terms—no one can refuse or prevent someone switching to contractual forms, including the lease contract. No one has the right to refuse. Furthermore, he who decides to refuse and hinders the transfer to these new forms of work cannot be entrusted with the leadership of a kolkhoz or a sovkhoz.

People say that many specialists are now feeling uneasy. This is understandable. Some have been working for 10 or 12 years in agronomy or animal husbandry but results have improved slowly. Yet here in just 1, 2, or 3 years a man can reach new heights—regarding both crop and livestock products. The economic indicators are changing.

But, comrades, we must be guided by the interests of the country and of all our people and not by consideration of whose prestige is suffering. Yes, many people have an inflated sense of their own prestige. But the good specialists, on the other hand, have responded to this new work. They have gone out to head new collectives.

There are many former animal husbandry experts and agronomists here at this meeting who are now heading production collectives working under the lease or contract. That is the correct path! That is good! We consider this to be a civic-minded action by specialists. But those who hinder the introduction of new forms in agricultural production must get out of the way, to be blunt. Our demand to everyone is to open the way to the lease system and to help resourceful people so that everything in agriculture can be set in motion. The task facing the whole party and all party committees is to support the innovators, to support the new work, and to ensure the conditions for a full transfer to the contract.

However, I would not want this to call to mind total collectivization with all its extremes. No, the situation is fundamentally different. Our man today is ready to work in the new way. Our kolkhozes and sovkhozes can reveal their potential more fully by the creation of intrafarm cooperatives. The most important thing is that people are in the mood to set to work, to feel that they are the masters, and to put their ability to use. Thus this is a completely different situation! In the period of collectivization actions were coercive and people had not yet thought things through fully. To put it crudely, people were corralled into kolkhozes in some places.

The picture now is different. But here is the problem. People want to take the new path but many are obstructing them and casting doubt on everything. These are remnants of the administrative system whose essence, putting it briefly, amounts to a belief in commands and a lack of faith in the readiness of the ordinary man today—be he a worker, a kolkhoz member, or a specialist—to act vigorously and independently.

That is why we are resolute in our intention. I say this to you with the utmost frankness because we have adopted very serious pledges: to make considerable progress in resolving the food question within 2-3 years. People will look at what we are doing to resolve that task. Is this not just another slogan designed to appease them?

This is the point of our meeting and the theme for discussion. We should like to hear how you regard this stance by the CPSU Central Committee and the government, how you regard this posing of the task, what your experience shows you, what it indicates. The leadership's desire is for more forceful and rapid progress. But when desire is not based on real processes in the agrarian sector itself or in agriculture, it becomes mere wishful thinking. Yet we have already reached the stage where we possess great potential.

We shall continue to resolve tasks which will strengthen our agrarian sector, but the question must be put in these terms right now. I believe that we, comrades, are putting the question correctly and realistically, not in farfetched or bureaucratic terms. Today's meeting is devoted to an important and frank discussion. There is tremendous interest in the country in how we are going to resolve the food question.

The first speaker was A.Yu. Kuzmichev, director of the "Zybino" State Livestock Breeding Center in Tula Oblast's Yasnogorskiy Rayon. Today, he said, the initiators of the lease contract are receiving the kind of support which encourages them to work and struggle with might and main. These are not mere words.

Agriculture in the non-Chernozem Zone has vast potential. Gross agricultural output in our region has begun to increase considerably in recent years with the introduction of the effective new forms and methods of labor organization. In the past 3 years we have increased the gross production and sale of output by more than 20 percent. And on the old basis, furthermore.

We are planning to further develop production by means of the efficient utilization of fixed production capital.

We used to have an unsolved problem—how to "link" fixed capital to the individual master? Who disposed of these assets before? We used to say that the workers should dispose of them, that they belong to the sovkhoz. But how was it in reality? No, workers did not dispose of assets. They merely struggled for gross output.

Now we have begun to teach workers to be responsible for assets and their use, to lease vehicles for 7 years and tractors until they are written off. In doing this we see that costs are falling many times over. We are afraid of citing these figures because this is a resource that we cannot imagine.

We have come to the opinion that land must be leased for a longer period—10-15 years. This creates a very different mentality among people. When we created a lease system and transferred the whole sovkhoz to it in full, a new situation came about—the workers themselves began to calculate, to estimate, to plan, and the old command style is no longer appropriate!

Man felt himself to be the master and not some hired hand. He now has his own equipment assigned to him, he no longer drives his truck or tractor along any old road. He demands good highways and access roads. Especially since the spare parts situation remains difficult.

A real master today will not work shoddily, he cannot sponge off others. People who have switched to various forms of lease contract are very well-organized and conscientious, they do not let one another down. For example, today's agronomist is no longer someone who gives instructions and is unaccountable. He creates income today. And if the present-day agronomist does not offer an effective technology which generates income, who needs him?

One further point: The new situation in the countryside is also forcing industrial workers to think in economic terms. And to produce today the kind of equipment which is really needed in the countryside.

M.S. Gorbachev. We say that the kolkhoz and the sovkhoz themselves should plan production. But how is this to be coordinated with state orders, how is this shaping up on your farm?

A.Yu. Kuzmichev. Everything is shaping up excellently. The state orders which we have now received are the plans, albeit by a different name. We will plan on the basis of the lessee's program, the lessee will not receive any money without a program. He receives money

according to his program. When he senses that he is saving resources and making a profit, and making a profit for milk production too, there'll be no holding him. He will produce better than any state order...

M.S. Gorbachev. Therefore, the basis of planning must be at grass roots level.

A.Yu. Kuzmichev. Yes, only at grass roots level.

Economics forces us to compete, so that I sell better, that I forge better links... But we unfortunately do not understand these functions. There is nowhere for us to learn yet, but we absolutely must learn these systems.

It is very difficult to form prices on the sovkhoz. Prices must be formed from a state viewpoint. Here's the state price, I take 20 percent for the general development of my cooperative. The rest I hand over. I give everyone equal conditions, and say to them: Off you go.

Milking machine operators are set a price—R252 per tonne of milk. Some manage to make money, others, maybe even former leading workers, earn nothing. Immediately people begin saying: In the past we would have earned something, now we earn nothing. People are dissatisfied because this system used to work very well, it suited everyone. But you cannot earn anything under that system now. But the majority support the new system.

To a certain extent we have gone further, M.A. Chartayev, chairman of the Ordzhonikidze Kolkhoz in Dagestan ASSR's Akushinskiy Rayon, noted. He described the experience of managing stockraising on a farm located in seven administrative regions of the autonomous republic. It is necessary to manage, to organize, and to resolve all the problems over a distance of 750 km. Under these conditions the kolkhoz decided to gamble on stimulating workers' independence and initiative. It was explained to each kolkhoz member individually that he is an independent accounting unit who sells output to the kolkhoz. Part of the value goes to the kolkhoz, the rest belongs to him, and all his material costs are covered from that sum. Putting the question that way has radically changed people's way of thinking and attitude to their work.

In the space of 1 year the farm's profitability rose rapidly and output prime costs fell by one-half while production went up by 40 percent. The form of accounting and planning also changed. The target for each producer individually—the milkmaid, the shepherd, the potato grower, and so forth—is set on the basis of the state plans and orders which are presented to the farm. The kolkhoz management apparatus is paid only from part of the kolkhoz's net income. Their income depends on whether the kolkhoz has any net income. We have no salaries, no rates, no categories, and no norms, we do not compile technological charts, contracts are not concluded with anyone, because the management apparatus is its own boss and a contract emphasizes the fact that I am hiring someone and he is working for someone. To prevent this we excluded all those things and said: We do not need it. When comrades come to study this method they say: How little paperwork you have! There are about two sheets of paper for the annual report and another two pages for the production and finance plan. All the rest is irrelevant. The principle of the bureaucratic apparatus itself is irrelevant.

People say that it is difficult to produce settlement [raschetnyy] prices. But by doing so we thereby increase the bureaucratic apparatus. Therefore there must be only the price set by the state. A state purchase price for the kolkhoz and a second price for the individual kolkhoz member who produces the output himself.

When comrades come to see for themselves the kolkhoz' experience they say: You began the wrong way around. But for us that was the right and proper approach: In a short period the farm has increased its gross income and changed from making a small profit to being highly profitable.

M.S. Gorbachev. I did not expect that such an interesting approach would be possible under mountain conditions. After all, conditions are very difficult there.

The main point about the lease contract, R.S. Romanyuk, leader of the "Prapor Kommunizma" Kolkhoz lease collective in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast's Kolomyiskiy Rayon, said in his speech, is the creation of groups of like-minded people whose concern to constantly increase production does not infringe the interests of each individual or his family. Work must be organized so skillfully, the speaker believes, that good results are achieved not by working from dawn to dusk but by working capably, with high productivity, and maximum return.

Describing how his collective manages to achieve this, R.S. Romanyuk cited some figures characterizing the return produced by this group of enthusiasts. Over 2 years its grain crop yield has averaged 51 quintals per hectare whereas on the kolkhoz the figure is 47.2 quintals. Output per machine operator is R30,500 (the kolkhoz figure is R19,600). Production prime costs and labor costs are lower than the kolkhoz figures. At the same time, the speaker noted, the lessees buy all the necessary material and technical resources from the kolkhoz and the goods produced are sold to it. Farm specialists help to introduce progressive new techniques, they teach people how to work better, ultimately, they monitor quality and accept output. Another four or five teams of this kind leasing land by different methods have now been formed using the innovators' example. There are teams in horticulture, vegetable growing, and stockraising.

Consequently, if the lease contract is expanding it is a necessary and promising venture. I personally felt, the collective leader stressed, that unless you work with

people you will gain nothing. One reason for the success, in his view, is that the very closest relations exist among crop farmers, they stand by each other through thick and thin.

Examining the long-term prospects for the lease contract, the speaker indicated the need to deepen and improve it.

It is said, R.S. Romanyuk said, that lessees are isolated people. They apparently attend no meetings or board sessions, they do not keep up with life, they read nothing. But this is not so. We do not think only about work or the production of output. We focus mainly on people. I am not indifferent to how my fellow worker's child is doing at school. We go to the school to find out. As a matter of fact, we have good relations with the school. We invited the children from the 7th through the 10th grade, we have allocated 10 hectares of winter wheat to the "Yunyy Khleborod" Labor Association which they set up. We tell the schoolchildren: We will teach you how to grow wheat, because you are our successors. The children actively help us to service the equipment and take part in harvesting work. Thus we have our reserve—children who are familiar with the peasant's labor.

Our children already know the value of every kopek, the young grain growers receive appropriate pay for their work. Furthermore, we invite only those whose grades are "four" or "five." In the field children quickly learn the meaning of chemistry, mathematics, physics, and all the rest. And our pupils perform better than others, they are active, they become leaders in their grades. People treat them differently—they see proper workers growing up, workers who have more than just hearsay knowledge of how wheat grows, how the land is tilled, or what the sowing norms for various crops are.

I am convinced there is no vocational and technical school capable of producing machine operators like the ones who are learning from us. In 4 years' time they will be fully fledged land workers. We have already talked things over with their parents. We are offering to lease steers to the children, so that they can raise them themselves using the feeds they have grown in the fields.

I represent, so to speak, the interests of Soviet farmers or, in other words, individual production, was how A.E. Berk, lessee of land on "Nymme" Sovkhoz in the Estonian SSR's Pyarnuskiy Rayon, began his speech. We have all the specific features of individual farming. This is why we cannot be compared with Kazakhstan, for example. Our fields are very small. Every region has its own rules, how to do the work so as to achieve better results. But we will not do away with large-scale production. Large stock units and all sorts of other production sectors will remain. There will actually be more of them now. We, for example, have contract relations with the sovkhoz and, generally speaking, I am under the wing of the sovkhoz. The first thing that is necessary is to study individual work in detail. After all, if we have a profound knowledge of what its future is to be we shall then be able to work successfully in the future too.

What are we gaining at present? We are increasing the efficiency of land utilization by 120 percent. We are resolving the transportation problem. Because a worker on a sovkhoz frequently has to travel 30 km to the fields, yet I have a parcel of land only 300 meters distant. Everyone can calculate what the benefit is.

Individual work provides an opportunity to reduce the number of cadres on the sovkhoz. We have calculated that it is possible to reduce cadres by something around 40 percent.

A vital question is social development in the countryside. If it is resolved more rapidly the number of people in the countryside will increase.

If we open up the neglected land then we shall not be purchasing feed from the state. We shall produce 100 percent of our feed on our own fields. What do we need to bring this about properly? So far we do not have the kind of equipment and technology in the country that makes it possible to utilize it under our conditions. I believe that first and foremost it is necessary to provide the necessary equipment, create conditions for work, and then calculate what the revenue will be.

Another question. It is necessary that the state give an interest-free loan to those who run farmsteads [khutory]. Not everyone, but those who want to do some building work. This would be beneficial.

M.S. Gorbachev. But right now, when you have already been working some time—how are things turning out for you?

A.E. Berk. I have already been working 4 years. With my wife and daughter. The sovkhoz allocated 25 hectares of land to us which had been previously unutilized. We repaired a neglected farmstead, bought a tractor and attachments, and we ourselves grow enough feed to fully cover the needs of the livestock. Last year our family obtained more than 5,000 kg of milk from each cow and sold to the sovkhoz 3 tonnes of meat and 16 tonnes of milk.

M.S. Gorbachev. Taking a look at your future prospects, how much do you intend to produce by 1990?

A.E. Berk. If I have 10 cows it will be 50-60 tonnes of milk and 6 more tons of meat.

M.S. Gorbachev. This is interesting experience, incidentally, for the non-Chernozem Zone too. This experience should be studied.

Our Pytalovskiy Rayon, although located on the edge of the non-Chernozem Zone, on the border with Latvia, said N.N. Vorobyev, first secretary of Pskov Oblast's Pytalovskioy Rayon, has all the characteristic features of the non-Chernozem Zone. Above all this means a shortage of people and lack of manpower resources. After the war more than 20,000 people were working in the agricultural sector. Now only 2,700 remain. This means low fertility of the land, low livestock productivity, the fields do not slope very much, and so they are waterlogged.

The rayon's Communists thought a great deal, they've done a lot of experimentation, and have come to the conclusion that the best form for our non-Chernozem Zone is the lease contract with payment on the principle of using the residues left over from the economic accountability revenue. This form—the residuary principle of revenue formation—pleases the people very much. Ordinary folk, the people, understand this form better than the experts and farm leaders, they grasp its essence immediately, and they realize that if they work well they will also earn good money.

Two years ago a support base of the Vaskhnil Institute of Agricultural Economics was set up in the rayon and began conducting training with farm experts, leaders, and link leaders. Let us state plainly that this produced results. It is rare when training does produce results, but it did work here. A little over a year ago our first lessees appeared. In the rayon now 79 percent of the arable land is leased and some is still held on a collective basis.

In our rayon production overheads are falling by a minimum of 1.5-2 times. The efficiency indicators are doubling, or slightly less than that.

It has now transpired that there are enough people and we have refused patronage help. This is the first distinctive feature. The second distinctive feature is that people have moved to the countryside. Previously people used to move away from the countryside; now the reverse is true. Last year we received several thousand enquiries and 591 people moved into the rayon.

M.S. Gorbachev. How many?

N.N. Vorobyev. Five hundred and ninety-one. But, unfortunately, Mikhail Sergeyevich, only 267 found a niche and settled down.

M.S. Gorbachev. Well, that's not too bad. As horticulturalists say, the graft 'take' coefficient was high...

N.N. Vorobyev. But what is preventing people from remaining? Primarily, of course, it is the weakness of the road network, the weakness of the provision of social and cultural facilities, and a young family with small children finds it hard settling in. Therefore we still have a great deal of work to do. Legal enactments are also needed. For example, many people from the cities would move with pleasure to the countryside to work for 5, 10, or 15 years. But it is impossible for them to reserve their dwelling [in the city]. The passport office forbids the conclusion of a contract without a residence permit, the military commissariat agrees, the Agro-Industrial Bank does not authorize the granting of a loan. There are very many legal obstacles...

M.S. Gorbachev. We've done some really exhaustive work in this field. No one slips though here.

N.N. Vorobyev. We still have very many prohibitive, anticonstitutional measures. I should like to say what is still holding us back. Primarily it is the residuary principle, the old model of economic accountability. Apart from normative acts we also need to dot the i's and cross the t's on the state order. Why do we need state orders, especially for loss-making farms and for those that make only small profits? How will they improve the structure of production if they are crippled and beset by dogmas by the order itself? A poultry factory or pig unit working on state resources needs a state order, and we understand that. But if we want everyone to work profitably on the basis of self-financing, what form could the order take? When we are overproducing output, that will be the time to introduce a state order and then we shall struggle for it on a competitive basis.

The production of small-caliber equipment and small-scale technologies for small farmsteads constitutes a major lacuna for us. See, I have come to Moscow to this conference today; I've travelled 1,000 km and I have seen for myself that the entire country uses spades when they do digging work at their dachas. I have not seed a single power unit nor a single little horse ["loshadka"—may be colloquial expression for a small mechanical cultivator]! But is this the way to do things, how long will this go on... How much equipment in this country is wasted! Why should we not start selling it on credit terms to the people! After all, the life of a tractor that is personally owned, for example, is two or three times greater than otherwise. So we can purchase a Volga or Zhiguli car, which is considerably more expensive, but not a tractor...

Very great changes are coming about in the party organs' work. Sometimes we do not even understand one another. For instance, you arrive for a political day and the people say: Well, what have you come for? Well, OK, perhaps you can speak without notes. Then your brother, some propaganda worker, comes along, reads something out to us from his notes which is the same as what we heard a month ago on the radio or on television, or read in the press. He does not look us in the eye or ask us what is hampering our lives, nor does he say how we should be able to work better, or what is putting the brakes on. He sits down, shows himself, and goes away. We surely ought to alter the forms of integrated political days. And also of the so-called days of the livestock raiser.

The path toward a sharp upturn in agriculture, stressed Ye.S. Rychin, general director of the "Moskva" Agro-Industrial Combine, lies via the collective and lease contracts. But I should like to say that it does not lie solely via the contract. It is necessary to proceed from specific local conditions. Well, for instance, take our "Moskva" Agro-Industrial Combine. This, in itself, is a totally new production structural subdivision based on a new idea where primary agricultural production, the storage and processing of agricultural output, and its sale are linked together into an integral economic mechanism on the basis of unified economic interest.

It is necessary to start from the bottom, yes, the bottom, on the basis of contracts—collective, family, and lease. And end with a form such as our agro-industrial combine. It was among the first to be organized—in the second half of 1986. So in 1987 we worked wholly as an agro-combine. What have been the results? Over this period we have succeeded in increasing the volume of overall production, including commodity turnover, by more than 30 millions [unit unspecified], and the volume of agricultural production has increased by 12 millions [unit unspecified]. The net profit totaled R103 million. All this has been done not on the basis of expansion, but on the basis of production efficiency. The milk yield from each forage cow has increased over the year by 250 liters and amounts to an average of 5,250 kg for the agro-combine. The weight gains are high. The yield of vegetable crops under glass is 33 kg per square meter and of crops in open ground 550 quintals per hectare.

Touching on the state order, the speaker said that it must not take the form of a plan. But Moscow orders me to produce such-and-such a quantity of salad crops, he continued, and it is unprofitable for the combine. When this order is adopted I have to bargain with the originator of the order and define the price in order that it may be advantageous to produce this particular item of output. But the originator of the order must listen. Then, most likely, such a form of order may be acceptable and it won't be necessary to refuse the order.

One further point. As an experiment, the "Moskva" Agro-Industrial Combine handed over all the specialized stores for servicing the trade network of Moscow's Leninskiy Rayon. At first it was very difficult to cope with this task. There was a shortage of trucks, sales personnel, and of this, that, and the other, the stores were dirty and the produce on sale was poor. It was not even clear where it should be obtained. We thought a great deal and decided to switch the stores' collectives to economic accountability and the contract. We gave the directors the right to determine for themselves how many workers and salespersons they need to have, that is, we did not lay down a table of organization. We leased them premises and transport. We did not lay down a sales plan. We specified just one thing—a trade rebate averaging 9 percent on output sales. What we said was this: There's the 9 percent, pay an average of 4.5 percent to the superior organization, and 4.5 percent of the sales total remains at your disposal for wages, production costs, maintenance of the store, and the costs of lighting, power, transportation, and packaging.

And what happened? In the first place people are lining up to be hired to work in the stores. But the most important point is the result. For instance, Store No 2 sold R65,000 of produce in March 1987, but in 1988 it sold R210,000. In April of last year that same store had sales of R37,000, but this April the figure was R203,000.

One idea is this. Construct a mini-livestock unit for 20 cows. There's someone who wants to look after this livestock unit. Obviously, he should be sold the staple feed. But at the same time, according to ability, we should allocate land for producing feed root crops. Or a different option. Some Koreans live in Moscow. We are currently negotiating to get them to grow vegetables during the summer. All this, taken together, opens up very great potential for the rapid upsurge of agriculture.

The floor was given to Zh. Ergashev, team leader of a lease collective on the "50 Let SSSR" Sovkhoz in Dzhizak Oblast. This is the team's 1st year working on the lease contract, he said. We drew up a 5-year contract with the sovkhoz. If we have second thoughts this year, we can take out a 10-year contract.

The leader of the cotton growing team went on to describe labor organization in the collective, which has been assigned 353 hectares of plowland. The farmers have now begun the first cultivation of the shoots.

M.S. Gorbachev. Tell me, you worked last year, what was the prime cost of the cotton like compared with the prime cost on the sovkhoz? Are your costs per quintal of cotton lower than they are for the sovkhoz?

Zh. Ergashev. They are lower.

M.S. Gorbachev. What about profits?

Zh. Ergashev. The profits are fine.

M.S. Gorbachev. If they're fine, then I'm happy. How about other farms, including your own, is there a great desire to switch to the contract, to the lease system?

Zh. Ergashev. Our sovkhoz was the first this year. Farms nearby are also making the switch.

M.S. Gorbachev. So it's gaining acceptance. Good.

G.A. Zinchenko, chairman of the Lenin Kolkhoz in Rostov Oblast's Zernogradskiy Rayon, mounted the rostrum. I, he said, represent a farm with almost 30,000 hectares of plowland. We have practically no meadows or pastures, all the land is cultivated.

We made the switch to the team contract long ago. The team contract brought us a colossal improvement. In practice production of the staple types of output doubled and trebled. We can work and must work. Some people say: What is the point of big farms? If you take the farms adjoining ours, our production is considerably higher, of course, especially when it comes to grain, sunflowers, vegetables, and other crops. So large farms cannot be abandoned. Our availability of manpower resources is greater, our power-worker ratio is greater. This entitles us to boldly develop and improve the team contract according to the same organizational tenets and principles.

Science must be made to work. We have created a science and production system for grain, cereals, sunflowers, corn, and protein and a system for reviving soil fertility. In short, [research] institutes are now in really close touch with the land. Their wages depend on how they work, on what kind of return we obtain.

Along with a science and production system it is necessary to create a production system based on the leading farms in every rayon. The system must include six or seven farms. Such a system has been created on the basis of our farm. Over the winter farms studied our techniques, and our engineering services helped them to adapt their equipment and to develop technologies. The results were effective—almost all the farms within the system reached our level over just 1 year.

M.S. Gorbachev. The value of this production system method is that the experience of the coordinator, of the leading farm, is naturally transformed without special decisions or slogans directly via production into the experience of other farms.

B.A. Zinchenko. The question of the plan-cum-order has been raised here. What is to happen? We must know what is going to happen to us next. The order system must be simply straightened out.

Take the question of grain sales. It's crazy: Produce more, produce more! What do we do? We transport grain. Our farm sells over 30,000 tonnes of grain each year. We transport grain and sell it. And after a little while we transport that same grain back, only processed so it's in worse condition. We transport 8,000-10,000 tonnes of such grain back! But we sell it at 8 kopeks and take it back at 20 kopeks. What's the point of this?

M.S. Gorbachev. Everyone's busy.

B.A. Zinchenko. Yes, everyone's busy. There's transport costs, the elevators are unable to process it, some of it is ruined at the elevators.

We realize that technology is constantly being renewed, but the matter must be given some thought. As soon as new equipment arrives, there is a shortage of spares for it. The old equipment has gone, the new stuff has arrived, but we can do nothing. There are not enough machines and attachments. There's a combine, but no attachments for it.

I.A. Sikorskiy, director of the Kurgan Grain Farming Research Institute and leader of the "Corn" science and production system, spoke of problems in production and science and production systems. He stressed that scientists are developing technologies, and they should see about conveying these technologies to production on the broadest scale, not merely to some base farms. He disclosed that last year the system's farms obtained an average of 47 quintals of feed units per hectare while neighboring farms obtained only 22-24 quintals.

In fact, with the aid of the scientists, the yield was higher—up to 70 quintals—but one-third of it was lost, first, because of the shortage of silage-harvesting combines, and, second, because of their poor quality.

On average our oblast is short of 40 percent of [the required number of] silage-harvesting machines. Because of this last year the harvesting took 2 and 1/2 months instead of 10-15 days. I think, the speaker stressed, that some of the farms' losses should be charged to the Ministry of Agricultural and Tractor Machine Building. Why should kolkhozes and sovkhozes alone stand the losses?

The speaker devoted much attention to questions connected with training and retraining machine operator cadres—the people who specifically put the technologies into effect. He proposed that the "Kukuruza" ["Corn"] Science and Production Association embrace a larger zone than at present. We are not averse to assuming responsibility for the Urals zone and a large zone of Siberia, the speaker said. But everything must be placed in our hands so that we can deal with this task.

The main role of the lease contract, V.V. Shvets, chief economist of the Manshuk Mametovoy Sovkhoz in Tselinograd Oblast, stressed in his speech, lies in activating the human factor; each person becomes a master. Things used to be appalling on our farm. People's attitude toward work, toward things was repellent and incorrect, and people's attitude toward other people and everything belonging to the state was that they were not personally responsible, that belongs to no one, it's "not mine." They used to steal and pilfer. It's all a matter of attitude, of human relationships. We must ensure that each person is a master, because only a master works with complete dedication and vigor, works for himself. Under the lease contract not only is the concept of overreporting unacceptable, overreporting is a smack in the face.

Before, the speaker said, we used to organize production relations only in the contract form. And what was the upshot? If, say, the workers were harmonious and the boss, the administrator, paid them late or too little, they

would all get angry. Sometimes at the end of the month when the pay was being shared out there would be rows and insults. Why? Because each wanted to get a bigger advance so he'd get more at the end of the year. That's not an advance, that's simply a wage. Each tried to grab some more. This does not and cannot in any circumstances happen under the lease contract. At the end of the year workers are not paid bonuses and extra payments; each person's share of the economically accountable revenue is determined. I deduct my advance from it, and I get the rest. In those circumstances overreporting becomes meaningless.

The lease contract is beneficial to the worker because he becomes the master; people have been waiting for this for a long time, they want to be the masters. We have to use the lease contract as a medium for changing production relationships. New tasks cannot be resolved by old methods! The lease contract sets every person the specific task of producing so much output that, once it is sold, there will be enough to pay for the means of production utilized and raw materials expended with enough income left to satisfy personal requirements.

To go on. What does the cost-cutting mechanism mean? It means no unused stocks in the warehouse or kept aside for use by the director or anybody else. People must live on what they earn. Wages rise under the lease contract, but there is also a very big cut in manpower. The point is that under certain shop forms of supervision, for example, it is virtually essential to do two lots of bookkeeping. On the one hand you are told to reduce the management apparatus. On the other you're given extra work. Under the lease contract things are different. Before it was introduced we had 16 accountants on our sovkhoz; now we have 7. In the future the number will be six. Just look at what's happening!

Many management functions are transferred to production subunits. Everything that we have on the sovkhoz has been leased not to some newly organized subunits but to subunits which existed already. They are leased all the means of production and they produce the output and sell it to the sovkhoz as a guaranteed purchaser.

We switched to the lease contract 3 years ago. Production has almost tripled. Previously our losses amounted to over R1 million a year. Now we make over R1 million in profit every year.

I would now like to talk about prices. Under the lease contract there has to be a minimum of three prices. Here it is important that intrafarm prices play the role of effective economic levers, the speaker stressed.

Manpower levels again. We had absolutely the wrong approach. We would make cuts, and after every cut we would look and see that everything was exactly the same as it had been before. And all because, in my view, there is no special apparatus to supervise these cuts. This needs to be done with the help of the workers. The lease contract makes provision for this: The administrative apparatus is obtained out of economically accountable income.

The next to speak was M.A. Skuya, director of the "Kekava" experimental model poultry farm in Rizhskiy Rayon, Latvian SSR. Having described the results of the enterprise's activity, he dwelt on questions of the democratization of production management. Every poultry hand, mechanic, worker, or specialist has come to feel like a real proprietor. Our procedure is as follows: Every month we have a meeting with every shop. It is a solid rule that the director and chief specialist must attend this meeting. There is a frank discussion of all questions of concern. Sometimes people wonder: Criticism must obviously be suppressed at the factory, they say, because there haven't been any anonymous letters or complaints in years. We talk openly about all matters, and people have come to realize that they are part of all the factory's affairs and bear responsibility for all labor and everything that is produced.

The speaker touched on problems linked with the intensive development of poultry farming. Feed is the main thing, he stressed. We put it to the mixed feed plant that we would put together our own formula and would not require anything else. We would add things when we needed to and give them back when we didn't. In this way we would increase protein levels by 2 percent, save 3,000 tonnes of grain, and—most significantly—produce more meat. No, they said, you can't. The state standard prohibits it. The question is: Who needs a state standard that does harm? I'll cite another example. Last year we began cooperating with the mixed feed plant in utilizing new kinds of feed. Because the plant didn't have any small-size mincer templates, at that time we were using mixed feed made with a 4.7-millimeter template, which was only suitable for older broilers. We came to an agreement with the plant and ordered mixed feed made with a 3-millimeter template. And we've been using it for months now. The results have improved. There's no state standard operating here. But the results are excellent.

We operate a complete production cycle. We raise laying hens, obtain the eggs, incubate them, fatten broilers, process the meat, and distribute it to sales outlets with our own transport.

The speaker drew attention to the advantages of this kind of organization of output production and sales. A broad range of output can be produced. But for this to happen enterprises need to be fitted with modern poultry processing equipment. Poultry farming deserves to have the requisite attention paid to it. We Latvians have a proverb: If we're not moving forward it means we're beginning to slip back.

The floor was given to kolkhoz member A.I. Pelekh, member of a family milk production collective on the Lenin Kolkhoz in Voroshilovgrad Oblast's Belovodskiy Rayon. We consider, she said, that since the CPSU Central Committee has gotten involved it means that this is an important and essential matter.

We haven't been working on the family contract for very long—only a year. There are three of us: me, my son, and my husband. We have 64 cows on lease. Our premises are old and cramped, so we have to feed the cows by hand; only the milking and slurry removal are mechanized, everything else is done by hand. We devote particular attention to how we feed the animals; we only give them prepared feed in the form of mash and swill. Our cows are grouped according to their lactation status; cows between lactations are put in a separate group. The amount of feed the animals get depends on their milk yield: A good cow gets more feed, and one which produces less milk gets less. As a result we got 3,968 kg of milk per cow last year as against a plan figure of 2,700. The milk has a fat content of 3.95 percent against a plan figure of 3.6 and a kolkhoz-wide figure of 3.79.

We don't go home until we've done all our work. We stay in the stock unit as long as the job requires. We only go home when the last cow has been fed and seen to. We're currently making a milk cooler so that we can supply only top-grade milk. As yet we supply only uncooled milk, which isn't profitable for us.

M.S. Gorbachev. Anna Ivanovna, what a long way you've come this year, in this single year...

A.I. Pelekh. Milk yields per grazing cow have increased by 1,500 liters compared what the kolkhoz as a whole has achieved in this same year. But I sometimes read in the newspapers about the high wages of people working on contract. The answer I'd like to give is: Let those who are worried come and try it. They'll change their mind, because there's no such thing as easy work or easy money. I believe that today's meeting will give a new boost to all this work and promote the introduction of the family contract in the country's agriculture. M.S. Gorbachev. This is what it means when the people get involved in something, when their thoughts get working. It is essential to boost these innovators and emphasize their efficiency and prowess. Indeed thoughts, ideas, are techniques are most precious things. If our people's thoughts are buzzing that's splendid! That's the socialist cooperative for you! Previously they worked to order and did what they were told to. Now there is action and thinking; they have to look for solutions and analyze where something has worked and where it hasn't.

In the final analysis it is the person that's most important. Everything is finally getting on its feet, from top to bottom. There must be more of everything, greater quantities, but the person must not get lost. The revolution was begun so that man would be the master on the land. It is necessary to bring him back into the political process and reveal the potential of the socialist system. This meeting shows that the people have started to move toward a new life, are feeling their human dignity, and are demonstrating their thoughts, ideas, and concerns. It is a very encouraging discussion; there is a sense of action—not only discussion but also action. The discussion wouldn't work if there was no action.

The soil in our rayon is pretty poor, V.A. Revyako, first secretary of Grodno Oblast's Mostovskiy Raykom, said. The natural fertility of the soil is rated at 35 points, and 52 percent of the land consists of sand and sandy loam. During the years of the 9th through 11th 5-year plans the rayon never obtained more than 25 quintals of grain per hectare.

But now the results are different: 33.2 quintals in the first 2 years of the 12th 5-Year Plan, with 41.6 quintals in the 2d year. An increase of 16 quintals. The potato yield is 256 quintals per hectare—an increase of 84 quintals. The total figure was 3,272 kg. The averge daily weight gain in cattle has been 20 percent, with a 35 percent increase in hog raising.

Where did we start our work? First by studying questions relating to economic methods of management and the improvement of labor organization. It was not wasted effort. All the rayon's farms are now operating on the principles of self-capitalization and full economic accountability.

Since 1987 all the farms have been switched to labor remuneration out of gross income with checkbook control of expenditure. All subunits are operating on the principles of the collective contract. We haven't had a big rejig of stockraising subunits but organized the collective contract within the actual framework of the subunits which we already had; 27 families have concluded a family contract and are working in stockraising, and 4,000 individual contractors are producing sugar beet and feed root crops. As of this year all the subunits have been switched to the lease contract. They have been transferred because the form of collective contract and monthly computation of expenditure and output obtained were cumbersome.

The production of stock raising output has been given broad scope on direct contract basis in family stockyards. Suffice it to say that 20 percent of milk and 8 percent of meat is produced directly on kolkhoz members' stockyards.

The work that has been done has made it possible to increase the production of agricultural output by 23 percent in 2 years. Return on capital has increased by 13.6 percent. Labor productivity has increased by 3.6. percent in 2 years.

Last year was particularly indicative. Prime costs of production were reduced by 7.3 percent in the rayon as a whole. Compared with 1986, the net revenue of kolkhozes and sovkhozes increased by 60 percent. Profitability of production was 35.7 percent last year.

Our people are now speaking out aloud about the economy. But the main point is, they now realize that these matters are by no means unimportant and they must be discussed seriously.

The questions of rural social development and the retention of cadres in the countryside are also important. We are tackling them very seriously. Last year alone, there were 137 apartments built using the own-resources method of construction. It has been decided that amenities should be made available in all populated centers by the end of the 5-year plan period.

The transition to lease contracts proves advantageous right at the initial stage of this work, N.A. Ponomarev, chairman of the "Put k Kommunizmu" Kolkhoz and Breeding Plant and chairman of Stavropol Kray's Apanasenkovskiy Rayon Agro-Industrial Association, emphasized. The initial results are that now we have a surplus of manpower and equipment, rather than the perpetual shortages of the past. There have also been surpluses in management, many have gone to do ordinary work as machine operators, shepherds, and so on.

Having mentioned the indicators scored by the farm, he noted that this is not the ceiling and that there is still more work to be done. The application of contracts will make it possible to achieve a great increase in the production of agricultural output and its sales to the state.

The speaker dwelled on the problems of the farms' mutual relations with enterprises in processing and light industry. Touching on questions of economic incentives for farms, he drew attention to the fact that kolkhozes are forced to transfer large percentages of their profits to the funds of rayon agro-industrial associations. We live on our own earnings and, of course, we find it very hard to pay these sums. We are not against support, help, and so on for rayon agro-industrial associations, but maybe on a smaller scale.

On the question of subsidies. It is probably unnecessary to pay them to the negligent or to those who enjoy favorable conditions. Let them work better. There are places, even in our own kray, where people are poorly mobilized for achieving savings and for displaying thrifty attitudes.

There has already been talk here about the levels which have been reached. Their effect is at times very powerful. All estimates are based on the levels which have been reached. Now at times we either read in the press or hear on the radio that weak kolkhozes and sovkhozes ought to be boosted but at the expense of strong farms. It does seem to us, however, that this is not quite the right way. The strong kolkhozes ought not to be forgotten, either. They have acquired their resources and earned their wealth not by some secret means but openly. By honest fulfillment of the state plan, by deliveries of good quality output.

In conclusion the speaker dwelt on the material and technical supplies for kolkhozes and spoke of the experience in retaining machine operator cadres on the farm.

The management's lack of attention to lease contracts was raised in the speech by N.F. Filatov, leader of a family link for cattle fattening from "Subbotinskiy" Sovkhoz in Krasnoyarsk Kray's Shushenskiy Rayon. I have already spent 13 years working in stockraising, he said. To start with, our work was simple: We used to set up a feeding area, and used to go out on pasture in the summer. Then we switched to intensive fattening all the year round. We did not stop there.

We started expanding the area. Then my son and I started working on contract. We labored summer and winter. Now he has been taken away from me. Promotion, as it were, team leadership work.

The work will, of course, still has to be done. But the equipment situation is a real disaster. We do not have a light bulldozer. We have been waiting over a year now. Now the crop farmers are taking our light tractor and we have nothing to sow the corn. This is how we are treated.

The floor was given to Yu.A. Makarov, director of the Ilich Sovkhoz in Volgograd Oblast's Nekhayevskiy Rayon. I find it very difficult, he said, to speak after V.V. Shvets. He is a great expert and all our basic methods have come from that farm.

Our sovkhoz is 450 km from Volgograd. It is 90 km from the nearest railroad station, meat combine, and elevator. Ours is considered to be a remote farm, and consequently there are certain difficulties. And yet, having studied the organization of labor and economic accountability on the basis of lease contracts on the Manshuk Mamctova Sovkhoz, we switched our entire sovkhoz to lease contracts. The results of our work in 1987 produced R1.3 million profit, labor productivity increased by 39 percent, wages increased by 12 percent, and profitability by 32 percent.

For the first time our lease contract machine operators produced 60 quintals of corn grain from each of the 800 hectares and 295 quintals of green matter from an area of 1,700 hectares. The buckwheat yield was 27 quintals.

The increase in weight-gain achieved amounted to 43 percent, and milk output growth increased by 39 percent compared with last year's level. Our sovkhoz employs 80 machine operators and 167 stock unit workers. We value their labor and are taking all measures to improve it.

We are doing everything possible to satisfy all the daily life requirements of a peasant's yard: Planting kitchen gardens, feed procurement, livestock pasturing, and other operations. Our social and consumer services shop operates a laundry and has opened a hulling mill. We will open a creamery in the nearest future. We dress rabbitskins on the spot. We have embarked on the sewing of headgear. We will start dressing leather and sheepskin in the very near future. With this in mind, we are training specialists for the tailoring of outerwear. We will primarily supply it to our own people.

We have brought a mains gas supply to the sovkhoz. We are building 20-25 apartments a year, and the housing we build has all the amenities and comforts. This will enable us to retain all our cadres! And to recruit others from outside in the future. People are now approaching us, asking for jobs.

We perceive a large reserve for the expansion of production in the construction of small stock units. After all, we do have 400 young people. Once we start nurturing love for stockraising in school pupils from a tender age, there will be no need for our young girls to go to the city and take on whatever work is available.

We are also showing concern for our former production front-rankers. This month we will start building a block to house 60 sovkhoz production veterans.

Of course, the beginning of any work is difficult, but we find it even more complex since we were the first in the republic to switch to lease contracts, T.P. Yushkis, leader of an integrated lease link from "Shyashuvis" Kolkhoz in the Lithuanian SSR's Tauragskiy Rayon, said. We were visited by scientists, Together with kolkhoz specialists, they suggested to the family that it should engage in this new work. We got together, talked about it, and agreed.

Last July we started purchasing cows from the kolkhoz members. I traveled around, took my pick, bought a few. We had 27 cows in the winter. But this year was hard for us, especially regarding feeds. We had to buy them in. We had to pay for everything.

We leased a "Belarus MTZ-82" tractor. Already by this spring we had earmarked 90 hectares of land. Even last year we sowed 17 hectares in the fall. We think we will have a good harvest.

Last year we produced 31 tonnes of milk, this being about 4,000 kg per cow. Yet the kolkhoz produced 3,500 tonnes per cow. Now we have 37 cows. We have almost completed the building of premises. We will also have 30 steers for fattening. We intend to deliver 127 tonnes of milk this year.

Our livestock herd is not the best, it is a bit of a mixture. We picked the animals from several rayons. We have four tractors. But we still do not have enough equipment for hay mowing. And this work is just around the corner.

People come to study our experience from different places, different kolkhozes and sovkhozes, we had visitors from Leningrad Oblast and from Latvia. We share our experience. We find out how they are doing.

E.A. Beirdze, first secretary of the Lanchkhutskiy Georgian Communist Party Raykom, spoke about the work by contract collectives using the checkbook method for reciprocal payments. The results are quite good. In terms of expenditure alone, the rayon saved R2.5 million in 1987. Some 1,000 workers were released. All kolkhozes and sovkhozes fulfilled their profits plans. Labor productivity is increasing more rapidly than the growth of wages.

In principle, we ought to be pleased with the method of team contracts using the checkbook system, the speaker continued. But people themselves are already saying that this is not enough. There are opportunities to work better on the principles of lease contracts. But they have taken a different form with us. Namely, a kind of intra-kolkhoz cooperative. Independent, economically accountable organizations which are given the status of legal entities and take the form of mini-kolkhozes within the kolkhoz.

The lessees purchase services and resources for the fulfillment of plan targets notified by the kolkhoz leadership to the cooperatives. In exchange, they sell their output at contractual internal kolkhoz prices established by the kolkhoz board. Prices are established in such a way as to ensure profitability within a 30-percent limit.

The idea of wages is disappearing. The cooperative earns revenue. It comprises the difference between total sales and total expenditure on production. Its members earn income but not wages. These are two completely different things. In this case, it is not simply labor that is remunerated but actually the end results.

This is very good for the workers themselves, who say that they already feel that they are masters. This can seen in particular in relations with specialists. The system established for them envisages payment by the hour for any work done by them. In simpler terms, the cooperatives have an opportunity to either commission their services or not. They have not reduced the workforce. On the contrary, they say: There is work for all of you, guys. The only thing is, we will commission your services. No more coming to us and moralizing.

This is what happens: Suddenly, a chief agronomist came running to me, complaining that his earnings the previous month weres only R22. (laughter in the hall) So I told him, you are probably worth only R22.... As you can see, this system could be a certification of the staff, an assessment of specialists' skills.

And something else. Councils of cooperative members have been set up within the kolkhozes. The council elects as its leader the chairman of one of the cooperatives, who becomes a member of the kolkhoz board and is a deputy

chairman of the kolkhoz. This council protects the cooperatives' interests and examines relations between cooperatives and many other matters.

In these conditions, the raykom and other organizations feel somewhat awkward. In what sense? It is difficult to work using the old methods, the established authority. You cannot shout at people any more, you cannot take people in hand any more. Do you know, I really got upset about a month ago. It so happened that I called on a cooperative I know very well and, in the old fashion, started telling them what to do, that this ought not be here, all that ought to be there. They told me: "Emzar Aleksandrovich, this is nothing to do with you. If it were within the contract's framework, then fine, have it your way. But the way we do our own work is entirely up to us." I felt insulted. But later I realized that if you start taking offense like this you won't be first secretary any more, because people won't come to you as a man, as a first secretary. (laughter in the hall) It is better not to take offense.

The problems which the city of Lvov and Lvov Oblast have encountered in supplying vegetables to the population, especially out of season, were described by I.O. Piven, director of the "Provesin" Agrofirm in Lvov's Chervonoarmeyskiy Rayon. It was difficult to solve these problems using the old methods.

The obkom and the gorkom got together and passed a resolution. They pooled funds from industrial enterprises and various ministries and departments on a cooperative basis, turned our farm from a sovkhoz into an agrofirm, and gave us broader powers and more independence. The pooled resources were channeled into building a hothouse combine with 40 hectares more than we had already. Under that same resolution, the total to be built in our oblast should be 80 hectares, and 52 hectares are already under construction.

When we embarked on this process, we consulted our entire apparatus. We saw those who are for restructuring, we also saw those who are against restructuring. You see everything when you have dealings with specific people. The union Gosplan gave us real help. And today our corporation—we call it a joint stock corporation—already has R2.8 million. Some of this money is already being used to built 4 hectares of hothouse area. We have earmarked land and are planning 30 hectares of hothouse area.

We believe this is one of the effective forms for pooling resources to fulfill the Food Program more quickly. I think that had this happed earlier, before restructuring, this question would have been altogether impossible to resolve.

Matters are already going to be easier next year. We have already signed cooperation protocols for R7 million.

How will we pay the labor collectives? This is a complex question. Because there are no similar situations. I have already asked around, I have spoken on television, we even wrote a letter to our leading economists of restructuring, Comrades Abalkin and Aganbegyan, to see if they can be of some help.

But we will certainly pay the collective in fresh vegetables. To satisfy their needs we will open stores and stalls, and dining rooms will be supplied on the basis of who has contributed how much. This solution seems to be more or less normal. But since the TRUD article was published, we have been flooded with letters from people from all over the Union.

In all matters, thought must be given to the way to solve them. Somebody already said here the accusation might be made that lease contracts are against socialism. On the contrary, it seems to me that we will consolidate socialism.

The speaker cited cases when cooperation between specialists from different spheres in conditions of a joint stock corporation can make it possible to solve complex problems of providing scientific and technical backup for the agro-industrial complex.

Touching on questions of selling up to 30 percent of vegetables at contract prices, the agrofirm's director drew attention to the favorable opportunities offered for this purpose by the new organizational formations within the agro-industrial complex. "Provesin" now has three stores where goods are properly presented, so to speak. There are no arguments, no questions.

In conclusion, the agrofirm's director dwelt on the problem of improving foreign economic ties. He called for a more active study and assimilation of experience from our friends, the socialist countries, including Hungary and Poland. There is much that is advantageous there. Nevertheless, a lot of coordination has to be done, there is a lot of incomprehension when it comes to concluding any agreement, especially a joint enterprise agreement. I wish, he said, that we had some organization in our country which one could consult on technical and economic matters, where one could obtain advice, economic estimates, and guidelines so as to enter into an equal partnership with some other organization or firm.

P.P. Bezsmertnyy, director of the "Ovoshchi" Family Store (Moscow), shared his experiences of work. We operate on conditions of family contract, economic accountability, and self-recoupment, he said. The store now employs 16 persons, 9 of whom are relatives of mine and the rest are comrades whom I know well, on whom I can rely. These 16 persons include 6 pensioners.

We have been authorized to independently vary the prices of fruit and vegetables during the day depending on quality and the labor we invest in putting the finishing touches. We strive to ensure that there is no waste at

all. Take cabbage for example. If it is loose, the client would not buy it. We take it, pickle it in the store, and sell it as pickled cabbage. It is in great demand. Under no circumstances will we put a bruised apple in a customer's bag. We cut off the bruised parts, package the apples, and sell them at 50 kopecks per kilogram. They all get used either for stewing or for juice.

A few words about the prevailing price increase system. They increase by a maximum of 15-20 percent in our store. But they also fall significantly. I personally trained as engineer. None of my comrades worked in trade. On the one hand, the work is complex. There is much that we do not know, there is much we still have to learn. On the other hand, however, we are trying to see out work through the customers' eyes. The fact that this is the right way is proved by results. The previous store's turnover in March was R69,000, our was R137,000. Last April it was R53,000, this year it reached R148,000.

Specialists come to visit us and ask how commodity turnover has increased so much—perhaps you are supplied with special produce? No. We are supplied with exactly the same as any other store. But we grade it, and the customer eagerly takes it. Moreover, we ourselves try to supply produce. The "Moskva" Agro-Industrial Complex has leased us a truck, which we use to bring fresh vegetables from the fields. Direct, without going through the base.

Customers' only complaint about our store is that they have to wait in line. True, four stores are now working on the same system. They hear only expressions of gratitude from customers.

The next to speak was A.A. Yezhevskiy, USSR minister of tractor and agricultural machine building. He self-critically admitted that the countryside is still not fully supplied with equipment. The cultivation and harvesting of a number of crops have not been comprehensively mechanized. There are still many blank spots. There is still much manual labor. And many comrades have quite rightly again drawn attention to this in their speeches.

Today the sector is faced with a very serious task—revising the structure of machine production and our technical policy. In conditions of economic accountability and of the introduction of the individual, family, and collective contract, when people have begun to count their money, we must also change our work with consumers, which must be aimed first at satisfying precisely the requirements of rural working people. And then at ensuring quality and quality once again—that is the main point that is now of the most serious importance to us.

The minister gave a detailed description to the meeting of the measures that are being taken to increase production of the high-quality machines and units that the countryside needs and he mentioned the most necessary items. In particular, machines for intensive technologies and for work with mineral and organic fertilizers.

I must report that further work has been carried out on the organic fertilizer loader. It is reliable, has a productivity of 250 tonnes per hour, and works efficiently. The output of "Gomselmash" has also been criticized today. The combines produced there have also been thoroughly modernized. "Gomselmash" has begun producing the "Polesye" machines, which will have replaceable working parts.

Milking units are being produced for family livestock units. This year 12,700 of them will be produced, and the same number next year. The main machine for the family livestock unit is the T-30A tractor. An interesting machine.

M.S. Gorbachev summed up the results of the meeting. He said that the discussion had been very interesting, very instructive, and useful in every respect. This has been one of the most productive meetings at the party Central Committee. This should have been the case, since a tremendous distance was covered by the agro-industrial complex since the Central Committee May Plenum before elaborating new approaches in resolving the food problem and in building up agricultural output. That is one aspect of the matter.

On the other hand, the meeting opens up prospects for our advance on the basis of this result, on the basis of these assessments. So we are all primarily happy that we have received your powerful support for the course of the faster development of agriculture and the agro-industrial complex in the interest of solving the food problem in the shortest possible time.

I think the food problem will always exist. That's life. But when I say that it must be solved in the shortest possible time, what I mean is that its acuteness must be alleviated. And it is acute, Comrades. We must see, we must realize that this entails serious problems, for it affects people's everyday lives.

We are convinced—and our discussion today confirms this once again—that we have made the right choice.

We are gambling on people, on their interest, on their independence, on their initiative and responsibility, on their civic feelings and civic stance. That is best realized in the various forms of collective contract, especially the lease contract, in which I would say that economic accountability is most fully expressed and embodied. The lease contract—and this has been said here—establishes new economic relations. It raises high people's dignity, develops the sense of being a master, and opens up the shortest way to solving the food problem and creating sufficient food in the country.

What do we see? In fact, 1, 2, or at most 3 years pass and there is a colossal return. The increase in yields is at least 1 tonne per year or 2 years. This produces new forms of labor organization and incentives and the development of people's independence and initiative. What lease collectives are now achieving in a year or two used to be impossible to obtain even in 10 years.

The lease contract reveals astonishing things in livestock raising. Very different results are achieved in the same conditions, virtually on the same livestock unit, using the same feed, but using different approaches to work! The gap in milk yields is 1,000-1,500 kg per cow per year. We used to virtually mark time with milk yields. Milk production was increased only by increasing the number of livestock. Money was spent on constructing more and more new livestock units and feed was used to maintain the livestock numbers, not to produce output.

In the last 3 or 4 years livestock numbers in our country have not increased, yet both meat and milk production is growing. If we obtain 4,000 kg of milk per cow, we will have no problems with dairy products. If we get one calf per cow, the beef problem will simultaneously be solved. If we surrender livestock at a weight of 450-500 kg, with the same number of cows we will be able to solve the meat problem too.

So it looks as though with the same number of livestock, but by improving selection work and the feed base, once again via the new forms of labor organization, via the contract, on the basis of the new attitude toward labor in crop farming and livestock raising we can rapidly solve most important problems. We will be able to channel the funds that we would have had to spend on increasing livestock numbers, new units, and so forth into the social sphere, into improving people's lives. That is why we must say today: It is necessary to adopt a firm course of introducing the lease contract, the collective, family, and individual contract, and all forms of contract on a large scale everywhere in the countryside.

I would like, comrades, to agree with the opinion expressed here. We must not operate on the basis of a single prescription. We must operate differently in different republics and different zones, especially as farms are at different levels of economic and social development and staffing. All this requires a specific approach, nothing must be foisted on people from above, we must untie people's hands and remove the obstacles in the way of the collective contract and the lease contract. That is the most important thing.

On behalf of the Central Committee and the government we confirm that we have embarked firmly and forever on the path of revealing the potential latent in kolkhozes and sovkhozes via various forms of contract, especially the lease contract, via the creation of a system of cooperatives inside sovkhozes and kolkhozes, via branching out into [vykhody na] new types of cooperatives, into links with other sectors, and into the services sphere. The aim is to utilize everything that kolkhozes and sovkhozes can do, mobilizing manpower and all other resources to solve the food problem, supply light industry with raw materials, and develop the services sphere. All this must be utilized, comrades, and many interesting proposals have been made here.

I'm sure you used even the short break to discuss the course of the meeting and to exchange opinions. We constantly discussed during the break how our discussion was going and what was resulting from it. Many facts were cited in passing. Viktor Petrovich Nikonov and Georgiy Petrovich Razumovskiy cited the interesting case of one farm—the Kirov Kolkhoz in Krasnodar Kray's Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon. It was a laggard, feeble farm surrounded by strong farms. But it switched to the lease contract and things looked up for the farm, it immediately began to gather strength. But the most interesting point is that everyone, including the cook, was switched to economic accountability. Everything operates on a basis of economic accountability, on the lease system: the kindergarten, the hospital, the workshop.

Economic accountability gives people a questing frame of mind and unties initiative, and not only in the production of agricultural produce. For instance, a kolkhoz workshop met all the equipment servicing and repair orders from crop farming and livestock raising, but at the same time carried out R150,000 of services for the population. Just one kolkhoz workshop! And are we wondering, comrades, how to expand the services sphere in the countryside?

In general, tremendous opportunities are opening up for all our farms. So the first thing that I would like to confirm here is that we are firmly adopting a course of developing lease forms of cotract, cooperatives, and agro-industrial integration in various forms. This must apply not only to primary cooperatives and grassroots collectives, but also to organizations at the rayon, oblast, kray, and republic level.

Second. How should we act this year? What should we do? What is the task here? This is how I would formulate it. All farms and all collectives that have concluded contracts based on the various forms of contract—family, collective, unit, and so forth—now need help. We must meet them halfway, help them to master the new economic relations. After all, this is a very complex matter. We must do this work without mistakes, we must not repeat what happened in certain past years.

We must now do everything really to put economic accountability principles into practice in those collectives that have concluded contracts. I believe this is the task of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes themselves first and foremost. Farm leaders, party organization secretaries, and the party organizations as a whole should stand up for the interests of cooperative collectives. The times demand that they ensure that contract collectives are

headed by specialists. It has been rightly noted here that the development of contract forms should take place in harmony with machinery, technology, and science. Here too people's new consciousness is manifested. Formerly, this was introduced from above. This is what we used to say: management of innovations, schools for innovation. Everything was imposed, everything was by decree. But today the voice of those who are working in the new conditions is heard. A person thinks: Yes, today he will win by means of better organization, a better attitude to labor, but tomorrow production will have to be increased by means of new technology, selection work, labor productivity, and new factors. For that, you need science, you need specialist knowledge. Therefore specialists must overcome their own ambition, and in some cases their idleness, and in general they must overcome the psychological barrier. There is nothing to be ashamed of about labor, real labor for the glory of the fatherland.

I think the majority of specialists and scientists will take that path.

This great, nationwide cause needs the concern of rural party raykoms and party obkoms and kraykoms. To help people to master new approaches, restructure their psychology, and change their attitude to labor—that is a colossal job, a radical change of views, here you cannot get by without the help and encouragement of the party, the support of party committees. It is good that an awareness of this exists in our rural party raykoms, among the first secretaries and other workers. This could be heard in the speeches of Comrades Vorobyev and Beridze. They understand that new times have come, and they must build their relations with people on a new basis. The days are gone beyond recall when the raykom commanded and gave orders what to sow, when to sow it, in what direction to cultivate the land, when to start cutting the wheat or barley, and so forth. All this is now taken on by conscientious people who have gone over to new forms of economic management. The task of the party committees is to ensure that this movement becomes nationwide and real. Not in the distant future, but now. The party committees must support this movement in every way—that is the main political and economic task for this year.

That will be the best preparation for completing the practical transition to these forms of economic management next year. But if we do not consolidate our position, if we do not help the farms that have concluded contracts this year to master these methods, then, I will tell you frankly, we will have to start all over again. More: Those who fall down on this, for whom it does not work out this year, will be afraid, will adopt a wait-and-see attitude, and that will retard the entire process. That is why support for people's initiative and creativity is needed.

What would I like to wish you, comrades, in conclusion? That you do not lose your enthusiasm for work. We greet you, pioneers of this movement. The burden is always greater for pioneers than for others, for those who follow behind. The skier who makes the first ski-track has one task to do, but he who follows that track has a different kind of task. I would therefore like to wish you success, on behalf of the party Central Committee. You can count on our moral and political support. Through the party organs, you will receive real support in the localities. That is the first thing.

Second. There will be difficulties for you, comrades. Nobody is insured against errors, omissions, and hitches in such a great, crucial job. Do not lose your enthusiasm, do not be disappointed with your choice. There may be failures, but success will certainly come. Experience tells us this. You have seen it for yourselves already. I am saying this more for the benefit of those who have only just embarked on this path.

Third. I would like you, on behalf of the party Central Committee, to speak about our conversation at meetings actually in your collectives, in the rayons where you work. I think the press—central, oblast, and regional—will give you the opportunity to talk about this conference and our conversation, to share your experience. I have already said and I wish to repeat: Look what splendid topics for the press have been mentioned here. With us, people sometimes look for problems in the wrong place, not on the main highway of restructuring, but at the roadside, in the back streets. True, the back streets most also be cleansed of mold, stale garbage, and trash. But all the same, the main attention—the party's attention and the attention of the press and our ideological cadres—should be for the main highway of restructuring, the experience of radical restructuring along the paths of economic reform.

All of you, comrades, brought vast experience to this conference. I thank you. I also thank you for your conscious, creative work, for your thoughts, for your concern for the people's well-being and the country's future.

I wish you, comrades, good health and success!

Taking part in the meeting were Comrades Ye.K. Ligachev, V.P. Nikonov, N.N. Slyunkov, and G.P. Razumovskiy; V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom; L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gossnab; and leaders of a number of ministries and departments and mass media.

Media Report 11-14 May Agricultural Developments

LD1505033388 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 11-14 May. GMT times of broadcast are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

11 May

Mass sowing of grain crops has begun in Krasnoyarsk Kray today; over 2,000,000 hectares is to be given over to grain crops, almost one-third of it to wheat grown by intensive technology. (0900)

Wheat sowing has beguni n Altay Kray; 2,800,000 hectares is to be sown. (1100)

Belorussian SSR: Planting of potatoes has been completed on three-quarters of the area; potato planting is being carried out on more than 300,000 Hectares. (1130)

12 May

We are carefully following the progress of field work at the moment, and PRAVDA helps us here, regularly publishing reports from the USSR State Statistics Committee. Today's update tells of the sowing of grain crops using intensive technology. Now, for example, 4,200,000 hectares of grain crops have been sown which will be grown using the intensive method. This is one-fifth of the area allocated. As compared with last year, work is proceeding at a higher pace. Farms in Belorussia and Kirghizia have ensured a noticeable expansion of the intensively farmed area, but, as the paper notes, not all farms are so active, and not all have made sure that they have seed of hard wheats for sowing. Such, for example, is the picture in Terektinskiy Rayon and a number of other rayons of Uralsk Oblast. The farmers are being let down by the Uralsk agricultural testing station, which is disrupting the plans for production of seed materials. Breeding of seeds for hard wheats is neglected in many other oblasts as well. It is largely because of the shortage of seed that the situation with production of hard wheats in East Kazakhstan and Kuybyshev Oblasts and in Bashkiria is bad. Meanwhile, this business is not only necessary but also profitable. Taking various supplements into account, the payment for a tonne of hard wheat can reach R600. (0300)

Farmers in Ryazan's non-Chernozem Zone have completed sugar beet sowing, totallying over 28,000 hectares. (0400)

13 May

In Omsk Oblast the first 100,000 hectares have been sown to spring crops. (0204)

Sowing of sunflower has been completed in Kharkov Oblast. This crops has even planted on more than 127,000 hectares, more than last year. It is being cultivated intensively over the entire area sown. (0800)

Grain and pulse crops have been sown on 90 percent of the allocated area in the Mariy ASSR and root crops on 80 percent. Rape, which is a new crop for the area, has been sown on over 60,000 hectares.

Good weather in Latvia has meant that sowing has been carried out pretty quickly: machine operators of half the rayons have already completed sowing of grains. About 90 percent of the grain acreage throughout the republic has been down and more than two-thirds of the area given over to potatoes. (1330)

14 May

Pavlodar Oblast in Kazakhstan has begun sowing grain crops. Sowing of sunflowers, leguminous crops, grasses, and corn is going on here too. (0204)

Rice sowing in Krasnodar Kray has ebea carried out on about three-quarters of the planned area to date. (0204)

The sowing of spring crops has come to an end in Lithuania. The top dressing of winter wheat and rye is now complete in Orel Oblast. Large-scale cutting of the main feed crops has begun in the steppe and foothill areas in North Ossetia. The sowing of corn is under way in Kurgan Oblast. (1300)

Scientific

Death of Legasov 'Unlinked' to Irradiation

PM1605094988 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 20, 14-20 May 88 (Signed to Press 12 May 88) p 8

[Unattributed untitled account of interview with A. Kovalenko, chief of the Information and International Relations Department of the "Kombinat" Production Association under the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation, and A. Karasyuk, chief of the Information Analysis Sector, by unidentified interviewer; date and place of interview not given—first two paragraphs are ARGUMENTY I FAKTY introduction]

[Text] Following publication of material on the elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl AES accident (see ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, 1988, Nos 15 and 16), the editorial office continues to receive readers' letters asking further questions about the state of affairs at and around the power station.

We asked A. Kovalenko, chief of the Information and International Relations Department of the "Kombinat" Production Association under the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation, and A. Karasyuk, chief of the Information Analysis Sector, to answer some of them.

[Question] In the course of the elaboration and implementation of measures to enhance the safety of nuclear power installations, were any design modifications introduced to guarantee totally accident-free operation by reactors?

[Answer] The Chernobyl accident was thoroughly analyzed. A package of measures was elaborated to guarantee the avoidance of the repetition of such disasters in the future.

First of all, the nuclear physics specifications of the actual high-power pressure-tube reactor [RBMK] were improved. There has been significant enhancement of the speed of operations by protection and control systems. Naturally, this operation has been assigned to automatic equipment, but the system has numerous backup elements.

Changes have also been introduced in the technological procedure for running the power unit equipment. The power station personnel have undergone additional training, and every AES staff member has undergone thorough subsequent recertification.

All non-regulation tests at power units (that was what caused the Chernobyl accident) are strictly prohibited. Scheduled tests involving changes of the reactor power or its shutdown are to be conducted only when the power station's chief engineer and an inspector from the USSR State Committee for the Supervision of Safe Working Practices in the Atomic Power Industry are present at the control console.

The protection management systems were modernized following the Chernobyl accident. The insertion of rods into the active zone to extinguish the neutron stream required 18 seconds previously; now it takes only 12 seconds. The Ignalina AES is testing a system ensuring complete insertion of the rods within 2 seconds. In the next few years, such protection systems will be installed in all RBMK reactors.

Additional stationary absorbers have been installed in all reactors operating in the country to ensure absolutely reliable precautions against possible mistakes. Now it is technically impossible for the personnel to withdraw them from the active zone: It takes more than 1 hour to withdraw just one. And each reactor has 81 additional absorbers.

Even if—to assume the improbable—the personnel at some power unit now commit as many gross mistakes as occurred at Chernobyl, there will be no accident.

[Question] Has the Chernobyl accident resulted in any corrections to the practice and theory of selecting sites for the construction of AES's?

[Answer] Yes, their siting was considered yet again, taking into account safe distances from large cities, the region's seismic features, the soil characteristics, the prevailing winds, and so on. The siting design has been reviewed, and future power stations will be sited further away from population centers.

[Question] Is the population being moved back to the population centers abandoned in the wake of the accident?

[Answer] The question of moving the population back to the cities of Chernobyl and Pripyat is not on the agenda now. In 1986, however, following the drop of radiation levels in the Chernobyl AES zone and as a result of the natural decay of radioactive elements and the performance of an extensive package of operations to decontaminate the territory, highways, and buildings, people did return to 14 population centers which enjoyed the most favorable radiation conditions, 12 of which are in Belorussia and 2 in the Ukraine. There was no return of the population inside the 30-km zone in 1987.

[Question] Is there a chance of the public receiving current information from the Chernobyl AES zone?

[Answer] An Information and International Relations Department was set up within the structure of the "Kombinat" Production Association on 15 February 1987 for the purpose of gathering, summing up, and systematizing all information linked with the accident, the elimination of its consequences, and the association's activities.

Since this department has been operating, the zone has been visited by more than 200 foreign representatives from 24 capitalist and 7 socialist countries. They included officials and nuclear power experts, statesmen and public figures, and journalists. The zone was visited by 320 Soviet correspondents and writers.

Current information from the zone can be obtained by any inhabitant of the earth, including our compatriots, by dialing the "direct line" telephone number 5-28-05 in the department in Chernobyl. Unfortunately, today there are more calls from abroad than from within the Soviet Union. At the same time, there is a mass of most absurd rumors about the Chernobyl AES accident, even though an answer to any question of interest can be obtained by calling the above number.

From the editorial office: We obtained from the USSR Ministry of Health Biophysics Institute the latest data about persons who contracted acute radiation sickness as a result of the Chernobyl AES accident. Acute radiation sickness was diagnosed as follows: Fourth degree in 21 persons (20 have died, 1 is still alive), third degree in 21 persons (7 have died, 14 are still alive), second degree in 55 persons (1 has died, 54 are still alive), and first degree in 140 persons (all are still alive).

Readers ask whether there is any truth to the rumor that the premature death of V.A. Legasov, first deputy director of the I.V. Kurchatov Nuclear Power Institute, was the consequence of his active participation in the elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl AES accident.

V.A. Legasov indeed was a member of the government commission on eliminating the accident's consequences, but his premature death was not linked with irradiation [yego prezhdevremennyy ukhod iz zhizni ne svyazan s oblucheniyem].

'Cosmos-1943' Satellite Launched 15 May

LD1605073888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0720 GMT 16 May 88

[Text] Moscow, 16 May (TASS)—Artificial earth satellite Cosmos-1943 was launched in the Soviet Union on 15 May. It is carrying scientific apparatus designed to continue space research.

The satellite has been placed in orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution, 101.2 mins; maximum distance from the earth's surface (apogee), 876 km; minimum distance (perigee), 851 km; orbital inclination, 71.2 degrees.

Besides scientific apparatus, the satellite is carrying a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to earth data about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

'Progress-36' Docks With 'Mir' Complex

LD1505044688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0415 GMT 15 May 88

[Text] [No dateline as received]—On 15 May 1988, at 0613 Moscow time [0213 GMT], the docking of the Progress-36 cargo craft with the manned Mir complex was carried out.

The mutual search, rendezvous, controlled final approach, and docking were carried out with the help of onboard automatic equipment. These processes were monitored by the Flight Control Center interacting with the ground-based command and measurement complex, as well as by the Cosmonauts Titov and Manarov.

The Progress-36 craft was docked with the complex on the side of the Kvant module. Fuel for the station's joint propulsion unit, food stuffs, equipment, apparatus, as well as mail have been delivered into orbit.

According to telemetric information data and reports from the crew, the onboard systems of the manner Mir complex are operating normally.

Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov feel well.

Preparations for 'Phobos' Mission Described

LD1305221688 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT 13 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov reports:

An international collective of scientists at the Baykonur Cosmodrome embarked on the final stage of checking equipment installed on board the Soviet automatic stations that are to be launched on July 7 and 12 toward the Martian satellite, Phobos. The collective includes scientists from Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Ireland, Poland, USSR, Finland, France, FRG, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Sweden, and the European Space Agency.

Dozens of most intricate scientific instruments are on board the spacecraft. They include a fundamentally new laser, mass spectrometer for the analysis of rock of Phobos. The instruments are tested in conditions of the imitation of all the stages of the coming flight. Early in June scientists from countries participating in the project will arrive at the cosmodrome again to conduct the concluding operations connected with the preparation of the equipment for the launching.

"The interest in Phobos is explained by the fact that it is surmised to be a former asteroid caught in the gravitational field of Mars," a TASS correspondent was told by Deputy Director of the Institute of Space Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Vyacheslav Balebanov. "The study of the substance from which small celestial bodies, comets and asteroids, consist, will make it possible to largely expand the notions about the evolution of the solar system".

The rendezvous with Phobos will take place in April 1989. Lowering to 50 m over its surface, the spacecraft will be hovering over the surface. Besides television photography and other traditional experiments, laser probing will be made for the first time. A laser beam will cause evaporation of substance from the surface of Phobos. The substance will then be studied by on-board instruments by a distance method.

The spacecraft will leave on the surface of the Martian satellite autonomous stations that can operate for about a year. Their task is to take measurements which will make it possible to specify the main parameters of the solar system and also to check if the constant of world gravitation is changing with time. Landing probes are also to be dropped on the surface of Phobos. They will be able to move with the use of springs and to analyse chemical and mineralogical composition of the rock.

The project "Phobos" also envisages the studies of Mars, the Sun and interplanetary space.

Future Subsidence, Flooding Threaten Moscow

PM1105151588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 9 May 88 p 1

[V. Dubin article: "Is There a Sea Beneath the Asphalt"—boldface italics as published]

[Text] ***The "Tsentrgeologiya" Production Association has developed a computerized model of the geological environment of Moscow's urban industrial complex. It will make it possible to significantly improve the safety of construction work and to reduce the damage caused to nature.***

The children were happy: A new school had been built for them. But all of a sudden, the ground beneath it gave way, and the brick building was riddled with cracks resembling streaks of lightning. A commission of experts determined that the school building had collapsed as a result of ground subsidence into a karstic cavity formed through a lowering of the water table.

Such incidents are not rare. Cracks suddenly appeared, totally unexpectedly, in the building housing the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium. Treacherous slippage damaged one of Moscow's large sewers. Subsoil water has partially flooded housing districts in Podolsk, Voskresensk, Yegorevsk, and other towns near Moscow. A dangerous slippage has affected the southern wall of the Troitsa-Sergiyevaya Monastery in Zagorsk.

Can such "surprises" be predicted by detecting the danger zones in advance?

...The video display screen shows a map of Moscow and Moscow Oblast. Areas with high level of subsoil water deposits are shown in blue, those with low levels in brown-red.

"This computerized model was developed by geologists, mathematicians, and electronics experts," A. Klyukvin, chief hydrogeologist of the "Tsentrgeologiya" Association's Moscow geological and hydrogeological expedition group, said. "They used data produced by years of observation, air and space photography, and almost 40,000 boreholes. Now we are in a position to look down to a depth of 200 meters."

The blue strip adjoining the course of the Moskva River and the brown-red area of the Klinsko-Dmitrovskaya elevation are clearly visible. The computer clearly depicts the hydrogeological situation deep inside the earth over an area of almost 50,000 square km, making it possible to see what they were like in the past and what awaits them in the future.

The operator hit another key, and the computer moved us into the 21st century. The picture on the screen changed, the brown-red color giving way to blue in places.

"The prognosis is depressing," Aleksandr Nikolayevich said. "The computer warns that, unless measures are taken, approximately one-half of Moscow's territory and a number of towns near Moscow will be flooded by the year 2010. Even today water has risen literally up to the foundations of buildings in the capital's southern and northeast rayons."

We by no means always realize how great is the damage caused to nature by unwise economic activity. The model of the geological environment makes it possible to see the negative consequences which could stem from violation of the natural circulation of water, while the video display screen graphically shows the changes in water-bearing levels.

Gullies, swamps, brooks, and streams are filled in wherever there is intensive building. Specialists have estimated that 290 km of the total of 510 km of courses of small rivers in the capital are already filled in. On top of this, almost 400,000 cubic meters of water escape into the soil daily due to water supply, heat conduit, and sewerage defects. The moisture building up in the top layer could evaporate, but this is prevented by buildings, asphalt, and the compaction of soil by machines. So the subsoil's firmness is already weakening, buildings are being damaged, underground pipework is collapsing, and slippages are starting....

Karstic cavities are forming through the careless utilization of underground aquifers. Until quite recently, the builders and land reclamation workers virtually ignored the geologists' opinion. But life has nevertheless forced them to heed the recommendations by specialists, for example, by stopping the use of a number of artesian wells from which large quantities of water were formerly drawn. Several options for the capital's artesian water supply and for engineering measures to protect the city from flooding have been submitted to the Moscow City Soviet. The geologists' conclusions were taken into account when planning transportation tunnels in the vicinity of the Lefortovo district's historical and architectural complex.

The model of the geological environment of Moscow's urban industrial complex was recently adopted for industrial use. According to a departmental commission's conclusion, it is an effective way to manage man's economic activity when exploiting the depths of the earth.

Scientists Comment on Nevada Experiment

LD011516 Moscow TASS in English 1449 GMT 1 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 1 TASS—The main thing is that the scientific experiment of Soviet and U.S. scientists in Nevada state "contributes to the progress of the Soviet-American full-scale talks on limiting nuclear tests," said Academician Yevgeniy Velikhov.

The academician who had participated in the work of Soviet and U.S. seismologists near the nuclear proving ground in Nevada state, said specially for the newspaper

"IZVESTIYA" that "the possibility of using seismic methods of monitoring low-yield explosions was also confirmed on the U.S. territory". more accurate results will be obtained several days later at the centre of processing seismic signals in the Californian city of San Diego.

In an interview with U.S. reporters, Ramaz Sakandelidze, director of a special design office of scientific instrument-making, Academy of Sciences of the Georgian republic, said that Soivet equipment set up in NEVADA had operated accurately. American researchers noted that sensitivity and reliability of the euipment conformed to the experiment's requirements. It is planned to start serial production of such equipment. This will make it possible to set up such systems of monitoring at various observation points.

Military

Fleet Admiral Gorshkov Dies 13 May

LD1405153188 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 14 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Council of Ministers have announced that Admiral of the Fleet of the Soviet Union Sergey Gorshkov, Twice Hero of the Soviet Union, died on May 13, 1988, at the age of 78 following a severe and prolonged illness.

The obituary, signed by the leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet state, says that Gorshkov made a big contribution to the development of the Soviet Navy.

For about 30 years Gorshkov was commander-in-chief of the Navy and deputy minister of defence.

During his last years, he held a position of responsibility at the Defence Ministry.

At all the posts to which he was appointed by the party Gorshkov showed a talent of organisation and deep knowledge of the naval science, the obituary said.

Gorshkov had a feeling from the new and showed creative approaches in his work, and in a combat situation he displayed courage, will and fortitude.